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Rumours of Summary Execution Rife:
Four Commandos Die After Unsuccessful Hijack

After five hours of negotiations the Israeli army shot their way into a hijacked bus April 12, killing one passenger, an Israeli woman soldier, and two of the four Palestinian commandos involved in the operation. Seven Israelis were injured by the gunfire, as a result of the soldiers' action. The Palestinians, all from Gaza, were not carrying firearms.

For details and photos of the destruction of the commandos' homes, see pages 2 and 16

Israel Radio reported that the other two commandos were taken prisoner and an Israeli journalist photographed the two being led away from the bus by soldiers. The Israeli government now claims all four were killed in the armed takeover.

The bus was taken over by the *fedayin* on the Tel Aviv-Asqalan road, near the Asdud junction, and ordered south through the Gaza Strip. According to a dispatch from Damascus by the PFLP, the commandos had demanded safe passage to Egypt along with the bus passengers and the release of 30 political prisoners, including two *fedayin* arrested in an operation in Jerusalem two weeks ago.

The commandos went into action after passengers became suspicious. One in the group, who was sitting in the front, jumped towards the driver and held a knife to his throat. Another stood in the middle of the bus displaying a small suitcase and warned he would explode it if passengers resisted. Two more commandos carrying bottles of petrol stood at the rear.

The *fedayin* permitted a pregnant woman to leave the bus after she felt faint. The woman hitchhiked to a nearby gas station and alerted police. The commandos searched the 35 passengers and disarmed an Israeli army officer who was on the bus. They told the passengers that they would not be harmed and that they only wanted to get Palestinian prisoners out of jail. "The passengers later said that they were treated very well throughout the seige," *The Jerusalem Post* wrote in a three-column story on April 15.

Israeli military vehicles tried to ambush the bus at the Asqalan junction but the bus broke through the roadblock. The soldiers chased it, shooting at the tyres and the gas tank. A number of passengers were wounded in this action. The bus broke through a second military roadblock at Erez, the 1948 border point with the Gaza Strip, and continued towards Rafah, the southernmost city in the occupied Gaza Strip.

The bus was finally stopped near Deir al-Balah after its tyres were shot out. In the moments of confusion that followed, several passengers jumped out of windows and escaped. Israeli troops surrounded the bus and lit it up with floodlights, blinding the commandos. More troops arrived by jeep and helicopter, enforced a curfew on the entire Gaza Strip and strictly patrolled the area of Deir al-Balah. The Israeli army rushed in 20 ambulances in order to be ready to evacuate the wounded.

During the hours that followed Israeli chief of staff Moshe Levi negotiated the release of the captives. The commandos made their demands of safe passage to Egypt. They also demanded the release of a number of political prisoners, including a number of prominent names such as Kozo Okamoto, a Japanese affiliated with a Palestinian organisation who participated in the Lydda airport attack in 1970. They also demanded the release of Udi Adiv, a progressive Jewish political prisoner, in addition to the two commandos captured in the attack in the centre of West Jerusalem two weeks ago. During the negotiations, the commandos allowed the passengers to take food, drinks, and blood plasma from the Israeli troops.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) announced in Damascus responsibility for the operation. Bassam Abu Sharif, the PFLP spokesperson, blamed Israel for the outcome of the operation. He also said that the attack comes within the strategy to escalate armed struggle against Israel.

Former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the Israel Army Radio in a comment on the operation that "it made it clear that the idea of getting rid of terror by force once and for all, as had been thought possible at the time of the Lebanon war, was an illusion."

Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens said, "Israel kept to the principle of not bargaining with terrorists. This principle will be maintained," he added. Arens also blamed Syria for the attack.

Summary Judgement

The New York Times and London's *Guardian* reported from Israel following the end of the dramatic hijacking of a bus on the Tel Aviv-Asqalan line that

continued on page 13

US Cop 'Fears For His Life' After WB Torture

Israeli authorities arrested US tourist Mike (Hazem) Mansour April 2 while he was visiting his family in the West Bank. Mansour has not been charged with any crime but is being interrogated about donating to a charitable society, 'The United Holy Land Fund' in the US and having had his picture taken with PLO leaders.

The 40-year-old Mansour, who is a deputy sheriff of Albuquerque, New Mexico, was forced to sign two Hebrew documents, a language he does not understand, according to his lawyer. The interrogation was conducted in Arabic, which Mansour does not understand well. Mansour has a heart condition and told his lawyer he has already suffered one heart attack when a sack was placed over his head during interrogation. He said he fears for his life.

His advocate, Jonathan Kuttab, who wrote a letter to the military court in Ramallah April 16, requested his immediate release "or alternatively, his release on bail under such conditions as the court sees fit to impose."

Kuttab added that Mansour was not previously remanded before any judge or magistrate, nor informed of any charges against him. Kuttab said that his client himself is a law enforcement official of long standing in a friendly country. Kuttab, who visited his client April 12, explained that Mansour is kept in very unhealthy, dirty, unsanitory conditions and is subjected to stress, duress and humiliation in order to extract a confession from him. A US consular official visited him April 11 and saw his prison conditions.

Mansour suffers from hyperglycemia and anginal attacks and needs drugs three times daily. His advocate said that he was given only three dosages in 11 days.

Mansour was arrested in Deir Dibwan when two intelligence men came to the village and gave a 13-year-old boy a summons dated April 8. They found the deputy sheriff accidently on the same day. (Translation: Al Fajr, April 18, 1984, Al Quds, April 19, 1984)

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El Salvador Moves Embassy to Jerusalem

On April 13 El Salvador became the second country after Costa Rica to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to occupied Jerusalem. Israel reciprocated by re-opening its embassy in San Salvador, which it closed five years ago.

Until the October 1973 war almost half of the countries having diplomatic relations with Israel positioned their embassies in West Jerusalem. However, after the Organisation of African Unity's decision to sever relations with the Zionist state the number of Jerusalem embassies fell to 11: that of the Netherlands and 10 Latin American countries. In 1980, shortly after the Israeli Knesset enacted its 'basic law' proclaiming occupied Jerusalem as its 'eternal capital,' in contravention of international law, the 11 moved their embassies to Tel Aviv, at the behest of the UN.

However, the increasing dependence of reactionary Latin American regimes on Israeli arms sales and military advisers has apparently motivated El Salvador's recent decision to move its embassy back to Jerusalem.

The Arab League condemned the move and Egypt termed it an 'unfriendly act.'

El Salvador did not recognise the PLO. There are reports the PLO is aiding rebels trying to overthrow the US-backed dictatorship in El Salvador.

El Salvador's Ambassador to Israel Napolean Armando Gera raises flag on embassy's Jerusalem office.

Instant Retribution: Commandos Homes Destroyed

TEL AVIV — Four residences of the families of the four Palestinian commandos who hijacked an Israeli bus April 12 were demolished by the Israeli military soon after the operation was over early Friday morning April 13. Three homes are located in Bani Suheila village, in the Gaza Strip, and the fourth in the village of Abasan, also in Gaza.

The four commandos were killed when Israeli soldiers stormed the bus. They are:

Subhi Abu Jame', 18, from a family of four. He finished *tawjihi*. His father is dead. Their house had three rooms and a living room;

Mohammed Abu Barakeh, 18, from a family of six. Their house is made up of three rooms;

Majdi Abu Jame', 18, from a family of four. His father is dead and the house is made up of four rooms;

Jamal Qabalan, 18. His house is made of four rooms. He also has a brother serving a prison sentence on security charges. (Translation: Al Fajr, April 15, 1984.)

Lebanese Say 6 Israelis Killed, Village Sieged

Israeli troops suffered at least six killed and three wounded at the hands of the Lebanese National Forces during a week of extensive military attacks, according to Lebanese and Israeli reports.

The Israeli army isolated the village of Nmairiyeh, 16 kilometres southeast of Sidon, April 16 after an Israeli patrol was attacked on the outskirts of the village.

The official Lebanese radio station reported April 14 that Israeli troops lost at least six killed the previous night after a booby-trapped car exploded near a military position east of Sidon.

The radio report said that two tanks with a total crew of 15 soldiers were destroyed during the explosion, which was heard in Sidon. In a story from the Lebanese radio, *Al Ittihad*, the official organ of the Israeli Communist Party, said April 16 that all 15 soldiers were killed.

An Israeli military spokesperson, however, denied the operation took place.

Earlier the same day Israeli troops placed the village of Nmairiyeh under siege following an operation in which the casualty figure was concealed by the Israeli army. *Al Ittihad*, quoting *Agence France Presse*, said the Israeli army pushed more than 300 paratroopers into the village. They took positions at house entrances and on rooftops as other forces carried out house-to-house searches for the attackers. According to a village resident who escaped the curfew, Israeli armoured personnel carriers drove through the village, destroying wheat fields and damaging some houses. The man also said that the village was beginning to suffer from lack of food and water.

Officials from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) tried to enter the village but were not allowed in. Likewise, more than 150 residents who were staying in Sidon were prevented from returning home to their families. The village called on the ICRC and on the Lebanese government to work to lift the siege.

Israel, however, declined to comment on the siege.

The Washington Post correspondent in Sidon wrote April 17 that a number of operations which Israeli officers and Lebanese officials announce do not get reported by the Israeli military spokesperson. The paper said that the Israeli military spokesperson reported 79 operations during the past few months, "when the actual number was much higher."

Furthermore, the paper said that Israeli troops have pulled out of major cities and were replaced by south Lebanese militiamen. The paper also reported that Israeli troops have been thinning out their forces and concentrating on new lines on the Zahrani River.

In other reports, an Israeli military spokesperson reported that one Israeli soldier was wounded in an attack in Nabatiyeh April 16. The spokesperson also reported four other operations, which he claimed did not result in any casualties.

A commando attacked one Israeli convoy with a grenade on Monday night April 16 as it drove through Nabatiyeh. The soldier was transferred to hospital for treatment.

An Israeli patrol on duty in Burj al-Shamali refugee camp, near Tyre, came under small arms fire. One resident was arrested.

On April 18 an RPG rocket was fired towards an Israeli position near the village of Ma'aroub.

The Israeli army returned the fire and did not suffer any casualties, an Israeli military spokesperson said.

Assad, Gemayel Meet, New Ceasefire Announced

A Syrian-Lebanese summit conference began April 19 between Syrian President Hafez al-Assad and Lebanese President Amin Gemayel to discuss political reform in Lebanon, the formation of a non-factional Lebanese army and maintaining a ceasefire between the warring forces in Beirut and the mountains. Syria is demanding the adoption of a minimum level of political reforms, the reorganisation of the Lebanese army and a disengagement plan between fighting forces on all fronts.

Lebanese sources said that Amin Gemayel and the chairperson of the Lebanese opposition groups have agreed on various proposals for the implemen tation of political reforms in Lebanon. Sources of the opposition said Gemayel and Assad would discuss these proposals, "which would lead to the maintenance of peace in Lebanon." The sources said these proposals were based on the reconciliation document of 1976 and Gemayel's proposals submitted to the Lausanne summit last month.

Political observers said that the relative quiet on the military front would facilitate implementation of the disengagement plan and the deployment of the Lebanese and French observers of the ceasefire at hot spots.

The four members of the military committee met April 18 and decided to distribute observers in the three regions of Beirut, the southern and eastern suburbs and in Souq al-Gharb. Two big observer centres were set up in west and east Beirut. The *Mathaf* junction between west and east Beirut was opened April 17 after a 24-hour closure.

The French observers demanded they occupy the two highest buildings in Beirut, Rizk and Mur Towers in east and west Beirut.

At the same time, the statements of Lebanese forces, Christian militias and the Amal movement issued in the middle of last week were described as 'tolerant and ambigious.' The Lebanese Forces said in a statement distributed April 16 that military pressure was not and will not be an appropriate means to promote political reforms. "Democratic means, such as negotiations and dialogue, are suitable to maintain peace in Lebanon," it said.

In Amman, Walid Jumblatt, head of the Popular Socialist Party, said April 15 that he supports any solution which would end the destruction in Lebanon. Jumblatt, also chairperson of the Lebanese opposition, put forward conditions for the formation of a national government, according to which Amin Gemayel should condemn Israel and its Lebanese army in the south and define the terms of the political formation in broader terms. It was not known whether these conditions have been abandoned by the opposition or not.

Reuter news agency reported that bombardment of residential areas in Beirut April 14 caused the death of 24 person nine of them in the same family, and the injury of another 18 The clashes were described as the most violent of the last two weeks.

A French paratrooper surveys Beirut from the highest building in the eastern part of the city

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 207, April 20, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	20
Number of articles totally censored out	7
Number of articles partially censored but used	1
Number of articles passed	12

Deranged Prisoner Denied Medical Treatment

The family of political prisoner Samih Hamshary, from Tulkarm, and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) are working to secure his release on the grounds that he is mentally ill and needs treatment. Hamshary was sentenced in 1978 to seven years in jail on security charges.

A delegate from the Red Cross visited the Hamshary family in Tulkarm April 17 to coordinate sending a specialist to examine Hamshary in prison. Hamshary's advocate, Fathi Shbeita, told *Al Fajr* that Hamshary suffers from a disassociative syndrome and severe depression. Hamshary is said to have no awareness of time or his present circumstances. According to his lawyer, he always repeats: "My mother agreed to send me to jail for a short period. I told my mother I do not want to go there. However, she insisted. My mother is responsible for what has happened to me." Hamshary who is in Nablus prison is also unable to recognise his nephew Abd al-Hakim Hamshary, who is being held in the same prison.

Hamshary's family received a letter from his prison mates saying that he sleeps for long hours, rarely eats and never speaks to anybody. According to prison mates Hamshary was healthy and active during his first year of imprisonment.

Advocate Shbeita sent a letter to the West Bank military commander last February explaining Hamshary's condition and demanding his release.

The advocate also contacted Geita Ghofer, deputy to the military governor's legal advisor two weeks ago and was told that Hamshary was transferred to Ramleh prison hospital where a psychiatrist examined him and pronounced him psychologically fit. The International Committee of the Red Cross is still appealing to the military authorities to allow a psychiatrist selected by the family to examine Hamshary.

Wives and mothers of prisoners sit in at Red Cross headquarters in Jerusalem on April 17, Prisoners' Day, when all Palestine remembers the human price of the occupation. Israeli soldiers raided the sit-in and arrested several youths/AO photo

Prisoners' Day Marked With Rallies

Prisoners' Day April 17 was marked with celebrations and festivals in unions, schools, clubs and universities throughout the occupied territories. Families of the prisoners were given gifts. Attendants of the festivals listened to lectures delivered by lawyers and released prisoners about the conditions of the detainees and the difficulties they face.

The attendants were also entertained by *dabkeh* troups performing the traditional dances and by listening to national songs. The songs expressed the determination of the Palestinian people to achieve their objectives in establishing an independent sovereign state.

At Bir Zeit University, many national institutions, including voluntary work committees; students' and women's committees and unions, participated in the central celebration either by sending dance troups or singers or by delivering speeches about the importance of Prisoners' Day.

At Dar al-Tifl College a similar celebration was held. Women students at the college held programmes of *dabkeh*. Two other celebrations were organised in the Hilal Club and Ibrahimiya School, in Jerusalem.

The Federation of Women's Committees for Social Work held a two-day exhibition of prisoners' handiwork and handcrafts at the *Muwazafin* Club in Jerusalem. They also held a festival at the Federation of Professional Unions building in Beit Hanina the following day.

A forum on Prisoners' Day was arranged by the Employees Union of Bethlehem University on the university campus in which the advocate Lea Tsemel spoke about the conditions of the prisoners in Israeli jails. Other speakers talked about the period of interrogation as the harshest period in prison. The speakers divided the imprisonment period into three stages: interrogation, detention before trial and the trial.

The speakers also hinted that the prisoners are very concerned with education in prison. Many speakers described the prisons as "a real university."

In Dheisheh camp, the Palestinian Women's Committee and the Voluntary Work Committee visited families of the prisoners from the camp and offered them gifts.

Aisheh Bakr, a member in the Federation of Women's Committee for Social Work, told *Al Fajr*: "We want to commemorate the prisoners' struggle in the prisons. Many of them were martyred. Whatever we give prisoners is almost nothing in comparison of what they have offered to their people."

LIST OF POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO DIED WHILE IN PRISON

1. Fathi Abd Al-Fatah Natshe (Hebron), Sarafand Prison — March 1968.
2. Qassem Abu Akr (Jerusalem), Moscobiyya Detention Centre — March 1969
3. Ahmad Abu Ameira (Gaza), Gaza Prison — 1969.
4. Qassem Abu Khadra (Acre), Acre Prison — 1969.
5. Abdullah Nabulsi (Nablus) — 1969.
6. Qassem Ja'abari (Hebron) — 1969.
7. Abd al-Qadder Abu al-Fahm (Gaza), Gaza Prison — 1970.
8. Hassan Abu Rukbeh (Gaza), Gaza Prison — 1970.
9. Ramadan Banna (Jerusalem), Ramle Prison — 1971.
10. Muhie al-Din Alan (Lower Beit Ur), Ramallah Prison — 1971.
11. Issa Mutlaq (Nablus), Nablus Prison — 1972.
12. Mustafa Awawdeh (Hebron), Hebron Prison — 1972.
13. Omar Shalabi (Palestinian refugee from Syria), Askalan Prison — 1973.
14. Omar Awadallah (Gaza), Askalan Prison — 1975.
15. Mohammed Khawaja (Ni'ilin), Ramallah — 1976 .
16. Fouad Salam (Gaza), Gaza Prison — 1976.
17. Omran Abu Khalaf (Jerusalem), Ramle Prison — 1976.
18. Khadr Issa Nimr (Ain Arik), Ramallah — 1976.
19. Yousef Karim (Gaza), Askalan Prison — 1977.
20. Mahmoud Dahdal (Silfit), Nablus Prison — 1977.
21. Farid Ghanem (Nablus), Ramallah Prison — 1978.
22. Nasser Suilem Huitan (Jordan), Ramle Prison — 1978.
23. Hassan Sawarkeh (Al Arish), Ramle Prison — 1978.
24. Yasir Shafi' al-Fa'our (Palestinian refugee from Syria), Jenin Prison — 1979.
25. Idris Noufal (Gaza), Gaza Prison — 1979.
26. Rasem Halaweh (Gaza), Ramle Prison — 1980.
27. Ali Ja'afari (Dheisheh), Ramle Prison — 1980.
28. Fayez Abd al-Fatah Tarayre (Bani Na'im), Hebron — October 1981 .
29. Anis Dawieh (Tulkarm), Askalan Prison — 1980.
30. Khalil Abu Khadiejeh (Ramallah), Ramallah Prison — 1983.
31. Izhaq Mousa Maraghee (Silwan), Beer Sheba Prison — 1983.

(Translation: Al Mithaq, April 18, 1984.)

No Official Version on Death, Mutilation of Detainee

In a letter to the West Bank military advisor lieutenant Ishaq Aqsel April 18 Jerusalem advocate Felicia Langer demanded an investigation into the murder of Najah University student Bilal Jamal Najjar whose mutilated body was found near Majdal Fadel village 25 kilometres from Nablus March 23. A policeman called Jamal Hamoud told Najjar's family that he had last seen Bilal in prison. None of the family members was allowed to see or identify Bilal's body after its discovery. Even his clothes were not given to his family, according to Langer. She said that all these facts indicate the authorities "are responsible for his murder."

Langer demanded that the military advisor disclose to the Najjar family the exact cause of his death.

Najjar, a junior at Najah University, Nablus, left home March 11 and was not seen alive again. His severed head was found in a hole near his body along with some torn-up Jordanian dinars.

Israeli authorities permitted only five members of his family to attend the midnight funeral March 30.

Majdi Badha, a fifth-year student of engineering at Najah University, has also disappeared. Badha left his home for school three weeks ago and never returned.

The Najah University council cautioned students not to travel alone in the area because of the kidnapping incidents.

Torture Center 'Hilton Hotel' Say Police

A special session was convened at Nablus military court April 12 to take a decision whether the confession taken from Abd al-Aziz Qablawi, 16, at Fara'a prison was legal or not. Qablawi, who was arrested February 7 on charges that he threw stones at Israeli military vehicles at the end of 1983, confessed that he stoned Israeli vehicles. The military judge, major Moshe Rosenburg, after hearing some testimonies postponed the session to an undetermined date to hear Qablawi's testimony.

Qablawi's advocate, Felicia Langer, told *Al Fajr* that her client's confession was untrue. She said that he was compelled to agree to the charge after he was beaten on all parts of his body. Langer added that a sack was put on his head during the interrogation. Her client suffers from asthma. Langer told the court that signs of torture are observable on his hands. She said that the prosecutor used a trick in order to prove his claims against Qablawi. Qablawi was told to reconstruct an old offence which was presented at the court as a recent offence.

Two weeks ago, Qablawi was taken to Jenin by a policeman called Jamal Kizel and reconstructed the offence. During the session, Langer questioned the interrogator about Qablawi's reconstruction and proved that he was lying.

The police witnesses in their testimonies denied that Qablawi was beaten and described the atmosphere of the Fara'a detention as resembling a "Hilton Hotel."

"Many youngsters who served sentences at Fara'a and were present during the hearing smiled as they heard the police testimony," said one observer.

Dura Merchants, Workers, Shoppers Held in Tax Raid

Israeli tax collectors raided all the shops in Dura, the Hebron district, April 3 and fined 45 Palestinian shopkeepers and others they picked up between IS300,000 and IS10 million. The raiders said these sums are first payments until accounts are made.

Dura residents told *Al Fajr* that the tax raiders arrived in seven vehicles accompanied by a military patrol. They made a round of the village and confiscated at least 45 ID cards from people found in shops or work sites. Shopkeepers and workers were ordered to go to the tax offices in Hebron where they received written orders to pay fines within one month.

Issa Mohammed Sweiti, a builder in the village, told *Al Fajr* that he was building a room for a relative when his ID card was taken.

At the Hebron tax office he was ordered to pay IS6 million. Sweiti told *Al Fajr* he has worked in Amman for the last four years and only returned to work in the village four months ago. He works on a daily basis in the village, earning IS1500 *per diem*.

Yousef Ibrahim Naji, a grocer who was ordered to pay IS300,000, told *Al Fajr*, "These sums of money are unacceptable. The village is very small and poor."

Haj Mohammed Mousa Amr, the elected mayor of Dura who was dismissed by the military in 1982, told *Al Fajr*, "It is an arbitrary procedure. They want to completely destroy economic life in the village."

Talal Husni Wazwaz, a pharmacist with a small shop in Dura, was ordered to pay IS10 million. "It is incredible," he commented. One of his customers who was buying drugs at the time of the raid had his ID taken. He was summoned to Hebron but not fined.

Khaled al-Hassan addresses an Oslo, Norway conference March 31. The slogan reads 'Recognise PLO'/Palphoto

Israeli Progressives, Palestinians Meet at Oslo Conference

Khaled Hassan, noted as a close aid to Yasir Arafat, got considerable headlines in Norwegian newspapers during the first week of April when he visited a seminar on 'The State of Israel and The Question of Palestine' April 2-4. An official participant and speaker was Ilan Halevi, ex-Israeli Jew who took over Issam Sartawi's functions in the PLO after the latter's assassination. Halevi's name is familiar to Norwegians after he was refused permission to participate in a seminar on anti-Semitism the year before.

Lord Caradon, the former Sir Hugh Foot, author of UN Resolution 242 and previously an official in the British mandatory authorities in Palestine, ranked as the most prominent speaker. His old friend, the Norwegian General Odd Bull, ex-commander of UNTSO troops, was among the organisers of the seminar, the initiative for which came from the Norwegian Palestine Solidarity Committee.

Lord Caradon claimed that the aim of Resolution 242 — a full Israeli withdrawal to the pre-1967 borders — is still a realistic policy and a basic prerequisite obtaining a Middle East peace.

The daily *Aftenposten*, unofficial paper of the conservative government coalition, reported that Hassan's speech on this subject raised a lively debate. Dailies *Arbeiderbladet* of the Labour Party and *Klassekampen* of the left- wing AKP (Workers' Communist Party) carried interviews both with him and several Israeli and Palestinian participants. Lawyers Lea Tsemel and Raja Shehadeh, intellectuals Israel Shahak, Olga Kapeliuk, Uri Davis and Ibrahim Dakkak all made formal addresses to the large audience.

IN JERUSALEM

Palestine Photos Unveiled for First Exhibit

The first Palestinian photo exhibition, sponsored by the Arab Thought Forum and shown in Jerusalem between April 12 and 15, attracted crowds of Palestinians and many foreign visitors. The exhibit combined old photographs with work by contemporary photographers on Palestinian life.

The exhibition was divided into sections of historical, archaeological and social works. Many of the pictures dealt with activities of local Palestinian universities, women's committees and voluntary work committees in the occupied territories.

The historical section, which drew the most interest from Palestinian visitors to the exhibition, documented significant events in the history of the country, such as British General Allenby entering Jerusalem in 1917. Famous figures in Palestinian literature, history and culture also figured in the history section. Among them were Haj Amin Husseini, the head of the Supreme Islamic Council in the 1930s, Khalil Sakakini, an important teacher who wrote books on literature and the Arabic language for school students at various levels, Abd al-Rahim Haj Mohammed, the revolutionary leader in 1939 and others.

Photographer Emil Ashrawi gets help mounting photographs before an exhibition held by the Arab Thought Forum at the Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem April 12-15/A Yunis photo

Karim Dabah, member of the five-member artists' committee who coordinated the exhibition with the Arab Thought Forum, told *Al Fajr* that the aim of the show was to collect and develop Palestinian cultural life, "which is the backbone of the Palestinian identity." He said that when they started collecting photographs for the exhibition they discovered that many local people have historic photographs.

The Jerusalem *waqf*, the Arab Studies Centre, Najah University and voluntary work and women's committees provided significant numbers of photographs.

Twenty photographers and institutions participated in the exhibition. Nabil Daeq, who showed 65 of his photographs taken in Italy and Palestine, told *Al Fajr*: "I personally favour artistic and not commercial photographs. Photography is a modern art."

Dabah said that the Palestinian plastic artists are planning five other exhibitions of plastic arts, calligraphy, manual arts and amateur drawing.

Scouts Honour Ancient Galilee Hero

Scouts from five villages in the Galilee marched to the shrine of Abu Haija April 13 to mark the anniversary of the 16th century military leader who fought with Salah al-Din Ayoubi against the Crusaders.

Scouts from Sakhnin, Arrabeh, Deir Hanna, Sha'ab and Tamra, the Galilee, assembled on the main road leading to Kawkab Abu al-Haija and marched to the shrine in the village. The participants sang popular and national songs.

Mohammed Ghanayem, chairperson of the Sakhnin village council, welcomed the scout groups and distributed medals and pens to mark the occasion.

The anniversary of Abu al-Haija's death is celebrated annually.

Pre-Election Detention Extended for Galilee Activists

The Acre magistrates court remanded April 15 four Palestinian residents from the Galilee village of Kabul until the completion of 'legal procedures' on charges of attending an illegal assembly in the village. Two of the remanded persons, Mohammed Asa'ad Mershed and Omar Ibdah, are members of the local village council.

The four residents were arrested April 8 when MK Shimon Peres, the head of the Israeli Labour Party, visited the village to secure support from Arabs for his party in the upcoming Israeli government election.

Residents of the village demonstrated in protest of his electioneering visit. One of the arrestees, Nasser Ibrahim, was also charged for making an offensive gesture at Peres and insulting policemen.

Advocate Wakim Wakim said that three of the arrestees were at the house of the chairperson of the village council, Mohammed Mershed, during Peres' visit. Adel Ali Taha, the fourth detainee, Wakim added, was arrested as he was walking in the street.

Wakim labelled the arrests "political." He said the police representative told the court, "If every electoral visit ends in the same manner, then this is a dangerous matter."

The Kabul village council held a special session April 15 in which members dicussed domestic affairs and found that the continued detention of two council members would be a grave violation of the public interest in Kabul.

Wakim said he would appeal to the central court in Haifa and ask for an immediate release of his clients.

Al Ittihad daily newspaper in Haifa commented on the arrest of two members in the local council who are also members of the *Abna' al-Balad* movement and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. *Al Ittihad* said that the Democratic Front and *Abna' al-Balad* consider the court's decision to be not only against the residents of Kabul but also against all Arab village councils.

Abna' al-Balad and the Democratic Front called on all Arab and Jewish democratic forces to pressure the Israeli authorities to release the four detainees and to cancel the charges.

The Dawn

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STATE TERRORISM

This Editorial was not allowed to be published in JERUSALEM -The City of Peace

Exactly how did the four Palestinian commandos involved in last week's bus hijacking die? The circumstances surrounding the death of a least two of the four Palestinian commandos has been in question ever since Israel radio reported that two of the Palestinians were taken prisoner. An Israeli photographer was reported by the New York Times to have photographs of two of the commandos, very much alive, being led away from the scene by Israeli soldiers. The Israeli army attempted to cover-up their own government's radio broadcast by claiming that the photos were those of Arab passengers, yet the families of the commandos identified photos shown them by the Israeli photographer who took them as pictures of their sons.

We know that Israeli soldiers immediately beat up the bus driver when he emerged from his besieged vehicle, only because they thought he was Palestinian. The violence against Arab by-standers on Jerusalem streets after an operation is explained away as unthinking violence of any angry mob. Violence against Palestinians on a Haifa area beach is defined as just a beach melee.

But what is it called when Palestinians taken prisoner by sraeli government forces suddenly turn up dead. At least 30 Palestinians have died in Israeli jails, two while still in detention. An alarming number of residents of the occupied territories have died under mysterious and never investigated circumstances. The most recent case, that of Najah University student Bilal Najjar, has not been explained, although a Nablus policeman said he last saw the boy in prison. His mutilated body was found in a field March 23, twelve days after he disappeared.

The families of the commandos said their sons bodies bore long and deep cut marks on the torso and that the eyes of all men had been gauged out.

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American Druze in Solidarity with Lebanese Brethren

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

Raymond Hamden, head of the American Druze Public Affairs Committee, is one of a community of approximately 27,000 Druze in the US. The American Druze Public Affairs Committee (ADPAC) is the political extension of the American Druze Society (ADS). ADPAC, Hamden told us, was established with a board in August 1983 and "it is the first time that the Druze, particularly American Druze, have ever had to become sectarian." Druze have generally been known to integrate well in societies they live in, such as in the US, France, Brazil, Mexico and other countries. In the US there are Druze communities in Washington, New York, Michigan, California, Texas, Florida, North Carolina and West Virginia.

Dr. Hamden, a psychologist, and his colleagues found it necessary to establish ADPAC, he said, because of the situation in Lebanon whereby members of the Druze community there have been called 'terrorists, Soviet puppets and bad demonic types.' The purpose, he continued, is to "educate the public at large and public officials" and to try to correct the bad publicity. Hamden questioned experts' views of the Druze, affirming "I don't think the media is purposely avoiding the truthful issues concerning the Druze"; rather, it is a simple lack of knowledge. "It wasn't until people like Jonathan Randall, Bradley Graham and Dave Ottaway started getting out... the truth" about the Druze that people learned some facts. Druze, he continued, are not puppets of Soviets, terrorists or Syrian-controlled.

Hamden, who talks to Walid Jumblatt on the telephone from time-to-time, invited him to visit the US and the visit was scheduled to take place in early March but it was postponed because of the situation back in Lebanon. The visit, Hamden said, "will be delayed till possibly mid-April and through the middle of June at the very latest." Walid Jumblatt, Dr. Hamden agreed, is not only a Druze Lebanese, he is the chairperson of the National Salvation Front and the chairperson of the Progressive Socialist Party in Lebanon. Kamal Jumblatt, Walid's father, Hamden said, "never said that he was a Druze but an internationalist."

Equal Representation

"The Druze in Lebanon," Hamden, who was born in Princeton, West Virginia said, "are asking for nothing more than equal representation." He said Druze are not anti-Christian but are anti-Phalangist. The solution to the Lebanese conflict, as Dr. Hamden sees it, is in sharing powers in the country equitably. As an American Druze, he said that he "would like to see that every citizen of Lebanon be allowed to run for the presidency." Lebanon, he continued, is not a democracy in any way, shape or form, adding "there is no such thing as Christianity when you're talking about the Phalange and there is no such thing as democracy when you're talking about the Phalange government."

The best solution in Lebanon, in his view, "is to do away with the entire system as it presently exists." Walid Jumblatt is also known to promote a senate in Lebanon where all factions, regardless of their size, would have equal representation.

About the likelihood of Syria annexing Lebanon, Hamden said, "I don't have any reason to believe that Syria is interested in swallowing up Lebanon." The Syrian presence in Lebanon, he continued, is "at the request of the Phalangist government." Syrian troops entered Lebanon during the latest stages of the 1975-76 civil war to save the Phalange forces from certain defeat at the hands of the progressive forces in Lebanon, including the PLO. These Syrian forces later became an Arab deterrent force, with the Arab League approving their stay there. Hamden clearly differentiates between the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and Syria's legitimate presence.

He said he "objects to the way Israel was formed and... to the way Israel took and is taking South Lebanon." As for Zionism, he says he is "anti-Zionist as the Israelis practise Zionism." Hamden was critical, for example, of the behavior of Israeli troops in south Lebanon where since early in the invasion they replaced Arabic street signs with Hebrew, among other things.

Reagan's Muscle

Hamden couldn't hide his joy when Druze victories were discussed. "I was so damn proud" when he saw victorious Druze fighters on American television, "that I jumped right out of my chair and was screaming 'Bravo'!"

When talking about US shelling of Druze-held areas in Lebanon, Hamden was visibly moved: "There was not one Druze village that was not hit." His information was coming through direct phone contacts with Lebanon from where he was told of much destruction. For himself and his parents, who are naturalised American citizens, the shelling "was very, very anxiety provoking." He said he suffered sleepless nights in anticipation of a phone call from Lebanon informing them that one of their many relatives was hurt. "We had to live with anticipation of what we fantasised they were going through because all the *USS New Jersey* was doing was showing Reagan muscle!"

Hamden, as a Druze American and in his capacity as the director of ADPAC, to answer his fears about what was going on in Lebanon called the Pentagon for information at the time and was provided with less than the truth, according to him. A statement issued lately by the Pentagon convinced him of that, he said, without going into detail. The Druze American psychologist described the reactions of the inhabitants of the Shouf who were the targets of the American shelling through reports of those who came to the US. Little children, he said, are now frightened even by the noise of a car engine, believing it to be another shell. "What I think has happened," he concluded, "is that Israel and the US have developed the 'no anxiety' personalities of tomorrow..." Dr. Hamden added "...to be a good fighter you cannot afford to have anxiety or to think twice about carrying a gun and shooting someone."

The abrogation of the May 17 agreement between Israel and the Gemayel government, a necessary first step towards reconciliation, has opened the second round of talks between the fighting factions in Lebanon. Reports, both from Lausanne and Beirut, are encouraging and maybe finally peace will follow in Lebanon. Regardless, however, US bombardment of Arab towns and villages in Lebanon on behalf of the Phalangists and Israel will not soon be forgotten and may begin a process of reassessment of the US position in the Middle East.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

UNACCEPTABLE VIOLENCE

by Paul Newton

Occupation scene: "We should not let action overshadow the passive resistance of a people under occupation or allow it to justify their opponents' unwillingness to negotiate."

To call someone a terrorist is to label them a perpetrator of illegitimate violence, a person with at best a self-centred cause, at worst an utter disrespect for human life. This is not only a result of their action against civilian life, for damage to innocents may occur in any form of military action. More importantly, it is because a terrorist represents the complaint of an internal group against its government, which being in power, no matter how unrepresentative or undemocratic, maintains a sense of legitimacy, perhaps even reinforced in the face of terrorist actions against it. The terrorist, contrariwise, has only a philosophy and a grievance to recommend his case; and the grievance, no matter how just or horrifying, is unlikely to persuade the world to accept his philosophy of violence. Without in any sense supporting such violence, then, it should be clear why it is greatly to a government's advantage to have an active struggle against itself, considered by the world as terrorist.

Palestinians have suffered under this image for a long time. The beginnings of their violence against government came under British rule, in protest over the ever increasing Jewish settlement of their country. Their actions worried and angered the British sufficiently for them to take harsh steps, expelling the notable leaders of the discontent. Jewish violence against the state soon became far greater, in determination to disuade any British accommodation of Palestinian fears. Our condemnation of their action has been mitigated by various factors, however.

The chaos which ensued after the British disentanglement from Palestine served to free the combatants from the rule of law. Violence became acceptable as war, the only conclusive way to establish the competing claims to territory, and Jewish fighters had vivid memories of recent tragedies in Europe to further justify their cause in the eyes of the guilt-ridden Western world. The creation of the state of Israel in effect further legitimised Jewish military action in retrospect. As a nation, their fight was an act of war not terrorism. And anything that would inspire true outrage, the massacres of whole villages and the horrifying propaganda campaigns against the Palestinian communities designed to reinforce their fears that similar acts would be perpetrated against them if they did not flee from their homes, has been swept into the background.

From behind its strengthened position as a legitimised government, Israel has cultivated a picture of its own vulnerability to threatened destruction. Palestinians have continued violent struggle against the state since its inception and Israelis are quick to point to the Palestinian Charter as proof of the extreme military intentions against their country. Diplomatically, they gain great advantages from the words of the Charter.

Needless to say, discussion as to the exact content of the PLO's intent to destroy Israel is not encouraged. It is assumed to involve great violence to the people of Israel, not merely the overthrow of a Zionist government, a racist and expansionist state and its replacement by a government representative of the people from and within the country. The dual assumption that the PLO is a terrorist organisation, committed to do great harm to the people of Israel, then, renders Israeli or American refusal to negotiate with such people apparently responsible. By precipitating further Palestinian violence, in the face of no alternative, this apparently moral stand is even further strengthened. When we consider that meanwhile, Israel has inflicted huge casualties on both Palestinians and the civilian inhabitants of each of the surrounding countries, culminating in Lebanon, we gain some inkling of the hypocritical double-standard involved.

This is one advantage which has led Israel to cultivate an image of Palestinians as terrorist perpetrators of unacceptable violence. A second motive, the need for opposition to justify 'pre-emptive' attacks and territorial expansion, is now also clear. The memoirs of Moshe Sharett (who guided the foreign relations of the Zionist movement between 1933 and 1948) have shown that Israel's intention in the 1948 war was to provoke confrontation in situations where they were certain of victory. Similarly the Israeli advance in 1967 was not, as they claimed, a swift response to unprovoked border attacks but a long pre-meditated act of territorial acquisition for which an argument was created. The same justification is used right up to the invasion of Lebanon, and the current signs of Israel's intention to maintain indefinite control on southern Lebanon and its resources testify to its success.

The sole question mark over these recent gains has been the apparently huge loss of credibility Israel has suffered in foreign opinion. The loss is undeniable — and yet not so far-reaching as it first seems. The essential imbalanced equation of legitimate government against stateless protestors remains unchanged, and with it all the associated images.

Hanna K, the latest reflection of life in Palestine intended for the European and American circuit, even by a director known for his sensitive treatment of conflict, illustrates these stereotypes in vivid colour. We begin as Israeli soldiers discover terrorist infiltrators in the West Bank. This fact alone half condones their blowing up of the nearby Palestinian house whose owners merely look on, with hardly visible distress. Three times in the story we hear reports of terrorist attacks on Jewish civilians. One Palestinian in the film is portrayed in depth. He is a hard and silent person whose character is always in doubt because of his brief association with the terrorists. He is essentially a person who makes little attempt to defend his feelings or actions. He merely acts. Our suspicions of his intentions, motives and character remain. He seems demanding, hardly grateful when helped, and the justice of his claim to land falls into insignificance behind his personal relationship with Hanna, and even she cannot crush her doubts.

In life also, the historical and legal claims to a country have been overshadowed and swept aside. Instead, an image of unacceptable violence has been created and used to great advantage against the Palestinians. Their problem stems from their lack of a state. But that very fact serves to illegitimise their use of violence in our eyes. Israel, meanwhile, has acquired a status which allows it to accept far greater willful destruction, as a military strategy to protect its peoples' interests.

The PLO can and must find some alternative to its desperate and counter-productive use of violence. But we should not let action overshadow the passive resistance of a people under occupation or allow it to justify their opponents' unwillingness to negotiate. We should remember also that in so far as they find themselves unable to refrain from violence, they infringe public rights no more than many other fighters. And the names we apply to such men at arms are very much a product of our own preferred assumptions.

IN ISRAEL APARTHEID IS CALLED ZIONISM

by Sharri Diament

Before I came to Israel from Canada last November I did have a general idea about the political situation that exists here but now that I have been here a while I have gained much insight into just what is really happening in this land.

You see, back in Canada the media is very careful about what they say concerning Israel and the Middle East because most of the TV channels, radio stations, newspapers and journals receive the bulk of their financial support from sources that are pro-Zionist. This makes for a very biased media that always tries their best to convince the Canadian public that Israel truly is a 'Miracle On the Mediterranean.'

But what I have had shown to me time and time again is that this so-called 'miracle' is no 'miracle' at all. The state of Israel was built on a lot of tragedy and at the cost of a lot of human lives. And these lost lives were not only Jews alone, for there were a lot of Arab lives taken also.

Wherever I go in this 'Holy Land,' I don't ever feel as if I'm 'in the presence of the One above.' Rather, I feel as if I am surrounded by the ghosts of the dead that continually remind me of the violent past Israel has had, before and after her statehood was declared.

And what was all this bloodshed and murder for?

The Zionists say it was all for the sake of creating a 'Jewish Homeland' but I beg to differ with them on that matter. I myself am Jewish and I feel thoroughly disgusted and angered by what I see going on around me. Judaism has never included the belief that another people should be persecuted, that they should be forced from their land, or that they should be forced to give up their beliefs and way of life in exchange for things that are quite alien to them or unacceptable to them. I am therefore convinced that this is not a 'Homeland' for people of the Jewish faith but a 'Homeland' for those who are of the Zionist faith only.

But there are some Jews here who are very disillusioned by what the Zionists have done and are still doing to other people here in Israel. We are not in agreement with a lot of the Zionist policies, especially those concerning the Palestinians. What puts us in a higher rank than them? Why do the Jews get automatic full citizenship upon entering Israel yet Palestinians who were born here and have lived here all of their lives get no citizenship at all?

The Jewish population of Israel has full access to decent housing, education, employment, food and health care but why don't the Palestinians get all of this also? These are basic needs that all human beings are entitled to but as it's been so often proven, not all human beings get.

Here in Israel there exists a sorry process of elimination that is based solely on a person's race and/or religion. Anywhere else in the world this process would be known as *apartheid*. Here in Israel it's known as Zionism.

Under this political system the Palestinians have been subjected to continual discrimination and harassment in all aspects of their life here.

Why must they be *persona non grata* in their own land with little or no chance of a decent future for either themselves or their families?

Whatever answers the Zionists may or may not have to these questions their answers will never be able to justify their actions of racism and genocide. They can have no justifiable excuse for the oppression of another people.

And because of what my beliefs are, some people have labelled me as being a 'Jewish anti-Semite.' But let them call me whatever they wish to call me for I know that I can go to sleep each night with a clear conscience.

There is room enough for all of the people in Israel to live together. It's time that we got down to the task of bringing about freedom and equality for all of the people here, regardless of their race, religion or political tendencies.

Perhaps if we can do this now, the cost of freedom (in human lives) would not get any higher than the high price that it already is. But I also believe that whatever it may cost, the price-tag on freedom can never be too high.

The struggle must go on.

Sharri Diament

A Palestinian Trade Union Official Speaks Out

Mousa Jiryis, or 'Abu George' as most people call him, is secretary for internal relations in the General Union of Palestinian Workers (GUPW). On tour this spring through some of the union's 16 branch countries, he has been speaking to members about the current situation in Lebanon, the status of the PLO after Tripoli and internal union matters. He has also met with representatives of European labour unions to encourage and strengthen their ties with the PLO's own trade union federation — the GUPW. While in one European capital, he spoke to Stina Jansson about issues ranging from the daily situation for Palestinian workers in Lebanon, organisational structure of the GUPW, international outreach and stories from his own life.

A refugee, school drop out and construction worker from age 13, Mousa Jiryis rose through the ranks of the union bureaucracy since 1971, when he was first elected to represent the construction workers in his camp — Dbayeh (destroyed by the Phalangists in 1976) — within the Lebanon branch of the GUPW. Abu George talks about the Palestinians in Lebanon today, Palestinians in the camps, the unemployed and restrictions facing the ordinary person.

Unemployment

Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the tense security situation there, there's been virtually no employment for Palestinians. Abu George cites three main factors: domination of most of the country where the Palestinians had worked by Israeli or Phalangist forces and the closure of industry due to daily fighting in some areas; withdrawal of the PLO and collapse of most of its economic and social infrastructure that employed thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese; and new labour laws that restrict employment of 'foreigners.'

Samed, the main industrial network sponsored by the PLO, employed about 5000 workers, according to Abu George. "During and after the Israeli invasion, (however), the Israeli forces stole all of the machinery and *Samed* is not allowed to import new machines or to import or export any goods," he said. Aside from some home handicraft projects, *Samed* is now operating only one carpentry workshop and an exhibition (shop). The latter two employ slightly over 100 workers.

Other services are functioning but with reduced manpower and within new restrictions. "The local leaderships of the popular organisations are working underground, primarily doing social work," says Abu George. The Palestine Research Centre is closed. Foreign staff of the Red Crescent Society are not allowed to enter the country and the society is forbidden to use its ambulances.

New labour laws decreed in January 1983 forbid foreigners entering Lebanon to work. "Foreigners," explains Abu George, "means Palestinians." Foreigners who were previously employed in agriculture as daily labourers now need work permits. The categories of work open to foreigners, aside from agriculture, are limited to the dirtiest jobs like car washing, asphalting roads and leather dying. It was formally forbidden for Palestinians to work in government institutions and certain other jobs but now this is enforced with terror tactics aimed at both employer and employee.

In many cases the authorities are stamping travel documents so that Palestinians, including those resident in Lebanon since 1948, leaving the country even temporarily cannot return. Abu George recalls the story of a 60-year-old man: "Many journalists have written about a resident of Lebanon since 1948 who was returning from an Arab Gulf state. When he reached Beirut airport he was refused entry and deported back to the Gulf but there he was redeported to Beirut. This process was repeated several times until he was finally readmitted to the Gulf state."

Coupled with lack of employment, there has been little subsidiary financial support for the Palestinians. UNRWA services are insufficient. The PLO did not manage to get money into the country for employees or needy families for months after the forces withdrew, according to Abu George. The GUPW consumer cooperatives ran into difficulties: the government has pressured Lebanese merchants not to sell to the Palestinian-run service and the government does not distribute basic foods in short supply to them, as they do to Lebanese coops. The GUPW coops, moreover, are not allowed to import themselves.

"Since the invasion, the Arab Labour Organisation has stopped supporting us financially and friendly unions from Europe are not allowed to send us funds," says Abu George.

This reminds him of another story: "In August 1981 the first delegation from Arab labour unions came to visit the GUPW. We took them to Rashidiyeh camp. At first the local union organisers didn't believe that an Arab delegation had arrived. The kids in the camp spoke to them in English — 'Hello. Good morning', etc. At the funeral *azza* of a local unionist, to which we were invited, a bereaved relative offered the Arab unionists a cup of traditional bitter *sa'ada* coffee, remarking politely: 'This is coffee.' Finally, they visited a team of European medical personnel working in the camp and thanked them for showing humanitarian support for the Palestinians. 'No,' said the Europeans, 'we are supporting them for political reasons.' They were surprised."

Support for Arafat

The executives of the PLO mass organisations have all remained loyal to Arafat since Tripoli though there have been some individual defections. "...In Beirut, in south Lebanon, in Sabra and Shatila there were demonstrations against the rebels and for the PLO," says Abu George, "...and during the second week of February 1984 Abu Saleh (leader of the Fatah rebels) went to Sabra and Shatila and was received by stones."

There was a problem convening the seventh triannual congress of the GUPW, however, because four 'undeclared rebels' in the organisation's Damascus headquarters delayed the meeting, according to Abu George.

Support for Arafat does not mean rubber stamping all of his initiatives, says Abu George. GUPW issued a statement after Arafat's December visit to Cairo, for example, stating that the visit "contradicts the Palestine National Council decision, especially since Egypt still follows the Camp David agreements... Arafat must bear the responsibility for his visit to Cairo and not give a chance for those working against the PLO to use this to make more splits."

After the visit, nevertheless, Abu George notes some positive developments within Egypt. "Arafat's visit gave support to the opposition against Camp David within Egypt. Our relations with the trade unions were broken after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. We had only maintained relations with those against Camp David. Opposition forces told us that when they had asked to speak to the trade unions before they had been refused but since Arafat's visit the trade unions have contacted them. Also, Egypt allowed the Palestine Liberation Army to march in uniform in Mu'in Bseiso's funeral and have opened military camps for the PLA."

Drawing from a *Samed* publication on the struggle of the Palestinian workers. "In Lebanon 'foreigner' means Palestinian."

GUPW Structure

The GUPW represents 45,000 Palestinian workers in Lebanon (1982 figure) but it also represents workers in 15 other countries of the Middle East and Europe. It is easy to imagine the diversity of needs of workers from Kuwait to Syria to Norway. In some countries the GUPW is not allowed to open branches. In Europe the main problem for many Palestinian workers is securing visas but once this is done they usually have the same rights as indigenous workers.

In Lebanon the GUPW has struggled along with Lebanese unions for better economic and social conditions. But the Lebanese government has tried to use the national issue to divide the workers. Abu George notes the example of the 1972 strike in the Ghandour Sweets factory where 200 Palestinian women out of a work force of 5000 were employed. First, the owner tried to bribe the Palestinians, negotiating a separate wage settlement so they wouldn't join a strike. They refused. The Palestinians went out the next day in a demonstration with their Lebanese co-workers. "Two workers were killed and 15 Palestinians were arrested," recalls Abu George. "The Lebanese press and radio accused the Palestinian resistance of shooting at the police, provoking the attack." The owner penalised the Palestinian workers by demanding they get new work permits, which they were subsequently denied. By 1981 there were only three Palestinians left at the factory.

The GUPW executive committee, which is empowered to coordinate the daily activities of the union branches, is made up of representatives of each branch and 11 additional members elected at the triannual general congress. When the general congress meets it not only reviews the past three years' activities and plans for the coming three years but also discusses representation in the International Labour Organisation, the Arab Labour Organisation and international conferences, financial, political and informational matters.

The GUPW maintains unofficial relations with Palestinian trade unionists expelled or in exile from the West Bank and Gaza since 1967. For unionists in the occupied territories, contact with any PLO organisation is outlawed, so the GUPW has left "empty places for the West Bank" at the general congress. Says Abu George, "Unity is the most important thing."

International Relations

Strengthening ties with Western trade unions is very important for the GUPW, says Abu George. The GUPW is a member union of the World Federation of Trade Unions, based in Czechoslovakia, which represents Eastern bloc and many third world trade unions. But they also have relations with union members of the Brussels-based International Congress of Free Trade Unions, such as the FGTB and Christian trade unions in Belgium, the CGT and CFDT in France, the CGIL, CSIL and UIL in Italy, the Scottish Trades Union Congress in Scotland and some branches of the transport workers in England, and the LO in Norway. They also have contacts with locals of American and Canadian unions.

"There are obstacles to establishing links with Western unions," says Jiryis. "They already have long-standing relations with the *Histadrut* and besides, the Arab trade unions have decided that no member union should participate in a conference where the *Histadrut* is invited... We were invited to a convention of the STUC in Scotland. The *Histadrut* had not bothered to send a delegate for 15 years but when they heard that the Palestinians were coming they sent their representative. He showed up and attacked us in the press. When a Portuguese unionist came over to shake his hand he declined, thinking the man was Palestinian.

"When we first visited the international secretary of the Norwegian LO in 1978," remembers Abu George, "he said, 'I'm a friend of Israel. Why did you come to me?' But following the visit of a LO delegation to Lebanon the next year the Norwegian union formed relations with us in 1981. We have tried to have official ties with other Scandinavian unions but so far have only had contacts with some local branches in Finland."

Personal History

Abu George agreed to share some details of his personal life which also provide insight into the general political situation in Lebanon. He shows how the Lebanese regime tried to divide the

continued on page 10

Small reforms in *apartheid* policy made in South Africa and in Israel disguise the overall schemes of both governments toward the hostile populations they rule by force. In the following article **Nura Sus**, with **Manar Said**, reports for *Al Fajr* on legal similarities between the two regimes' policy of racism, political repression and ultimately expulsion.

Racist Parallels: **Apartheid** in South Africa and the Occupied Territories

Links between the South African and Israeli governments date back to the beginning of this century with collaboration between Chaim Weizmann and Jan Smuts but there have been few contacts between the oppressed peoples of these regimes.

Visits by anti-racist South Africans across Israeli borders have been rare for a reason. Lawyer A, one of two South African lawyers to visit the West Bank this winter, explained that the anti-*apartheid* community had maintained an unofficial boycott against Israel as a racist state but that the inability to obtain any information in South Africa about the situation of Palestinians here has prompted them to reconsider their stand. They have also been encouraged by the few direct contacts they have made with Palestinians, especially writers. At the same time the strength of the Zionist elements in South Africa has slowed consciousness-raising of the Zionism-racism equation even among the so-called progressive forces.

Lawyer A, an Indian Muslim, toured the West Bank with his family on a personal visit. He spoke freely to *Al Fajr* about the civil rights situation in South Africa but preferred that his name not be published. His comments are incorporated in this article.

Lawyer B, John Dugard, is director of the law research centre at the University of Witwatersand in Johannesburg and lectured March 31 to a group of local lawyers on 'Security and Race in South Africa.' The lecture was sponsored by the Ramallah-based Law in the Service of Man, the Palestinian counterpart to the small but active core of South African lawyers concerned with human and civil rights cases.

Despite the different aspects of the struggles among the South Africans and the Palestinians, the racial oppression used against both peoples and the suppression of dissent have startling similarities from a legal perspective, perhaps because both the South African and the Zionist entity were rooted in British colonial laws, which they adopted for their own purposes.

Apartheid was given a legal base in South Africa in 1950 by the Race Classification Law which stipulates that colour differentiations be indicated on identity cards. The department of internal affairs classifies all infants by race after birth. *The Jerusalem Post* mentioned, in its 'postscript' column on oddities April 10, that two preschoolers were actually kept in detention for three years while their race — eventually classified as white — was determined. Lawyer A described subsequent laws as the 'four pillars of *apartheid*': the Population Registration Act — to divide people at every level; the Mixed Marriages Act — to preserve racial 'purity' by outlawing marriages 'between European and non-European'; the Immorality Act — to make sex across the colour line a criminal offense; and the Group Areas Act — to zone residential as well as business areas according to race.

Areas which had been naturally integrated — places like Sophiatown, District 6 in Capetown and Katomaeo — were systematically destroyed by the government from the mid-'50s to the 1970s. On the other hand, the Oriental Plaza has been set aside for exclusively Indian shops in white Johannesburg's business district where spices, textiles and food can be bargained over in a controlled Indian atmosphere.

Separate and Unequal Development

Lawyer A, whose grandfather came to South Africa from India to work as a servant-cook, saw similarities between the renovated Oriental Palace and the Old City and between Johannesburg and Jerusalem in terms of the government direction of development. Both Johannesburg and its immediate suburbs are designated by the Group Areas act for whites only. "I live on Indian Muslim property within Johannesburg," he said. "It is a small and cramped section and there is no place for growth. There is an eight-year waiting list for a house or land in Lanasia — a suburb the government has restricted to Indians 22 kilometres away. The land is there but 'red tape' prevents its development although the government makes promises to the Indians because it needs their support."

The homogeneous residential and ousiness areas, enforced by law in South Africa, are strikingly similar to Israel's exclusively Jewish settlements, which receive heavy government endowments for the purpose of separate and unequal, that is, advanced, development. Meanwhile Arab villages and towns are strangulated by land confiscations, no-construction ordinances, seldom-approved licencing requirements and Israeli bids to jettison the refugee population out of camps in urban areas and into resettlement reservations.

Within the Palestinian population the Israeli government has also employed the divide-and-rule concept by legally separating out Palestinian Druze from Christians and other Muslims through education processes, enforced army service and patronage. Further discrimination between Muslims and Christians is less obvious but it is strongly felt by the local population that Israeli policy exacerbates, for its own purposes, whatever differences do surface.

Anti-racist South Africans believe that the government policy is to so fragment the African population on the basis of ethnicity that the opposition will be ineffectual. Black Africans, for example, who represent three-fourths of the entire population, have been subdivided into ten separate states by cultural identification and language. Four of these reservations — Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — have already been called 'independent homelands' by the South African government, the only body to recognise them as such. Of the 19,000,000 black Africans, 8,000,000 have already been confined to these areas; the future of the rest is not hard to determine. The government's goal, according to Dugard, is to deny the indigenous black population South African citizenship by giving them *new* citizenship. Dugard points out that discrimination on grounds of 'race' would provoke an international outcry which the already isolated regime could ill afford. But neither does the government want blacks to participate in their legal system and, by sheer demography, destroy white dominance.

Population of South Africa		25,000,000
blacks	indigenous African people	18,000,000
coloureds	historical 'by-product' of blacks and whites	2,000,000
Indians	first brought to British colony of Natal as indentured servants for sugar plantation in 1860	1,000,000
whites	Afrikaner (majority of Dutch origin and French Huguenots, *now single entity*); *Jewish immigrants from WWI* and other English — 25% of whites	4,000,000

Ethnic Parliaments

Thus the innocuous-sounding 'homeland' solution displays the government's joint goals of expatriating blacks and keeping them nearby as a ready labour force.

The Indians and coloureds present a less easily disposable problem for the government because they are not indigenous to African soil. However, because of their small numbers — together they are less than the white population — they have been accommodated into political life on a separate, unequal basis. A proposal for three separate parliaments, for whites, coloureds and Indians, which the majority of whites voted for last November 2, is to be instituted by the end of this year. On scrutiny, both lawyers say, the white parliament predictably supercedes the other two in power, for example in fiscal and foreign affairs. The ethnic parliaments will decide only on such matters as health, education and local trade licencing. The result of the new system, Lawyer A insists, will give whites an artificial majority and will attempt to destroy the national unity of total black struggle in South Africa.

Israeli strategists worry over similar demographic problems; the faster-growing Palestinian population within the 1948 borders, if coupled with the 1,000,000 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza through outright annexation of the occupied territories, would destroy Israel's present Jewish majority forever, as well as bring on them some international wrath. The Camp David 'autonomy' plan, like the South African 'homeland' scheme, would cede the land to Israel without the people — a kind of eviction by legislation, if not by force. The Israelis, however, want their future dominance further guaranteed in such a small land as Palestine with so many Palestinians still about — hence their policy of settlement, land confiscation and of expulsion not just onto reservation-type homelands but across borders.

The repression of resistance to *apartheid* in South Africa is legally based on the Internal Security Act (1976), Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act (1967) — vaguely worded orders which remove anyone suspected of actions 'against the development of South Africa' from due process of law. Those suspected of violating these laws can be held indefinitely without trial. The military is under the complete control of the white minority: compulsory service is for whites only and all officers are white. A few blacks are recruited to guard buildings and for tracking, similar to the Israelis' use and relegation of Palestinian Beduin to desert patrols.

Lawyer A described South African society as totally lacking in human rights, whether in the areas of housing, education, speech, assembly or expression. The repression is cross-racial.

Anyone can be held indefinitely in solitary confinement and *incommunicado* for state 'interrogation' purposes, and without visits by lawyer, family or physician. At least 54 people died in mysterious 'suicides' in detention. One year is the usual detention period but in some cases detainees have been held two and three years. The burden of proof rests on the accused and even witnesses in a political trial can be held under administrative detention.

As for what happens to prisoners while in detention, Amnesty International, for one, is unequivocal: "Torture is routinely used during the interrogation of political detainees to extract 'confessions' and generally to intimidate the opponents of *apartheid*.

"Testimonies describe the most common forms of torture as being: brutal physical attacks and beatings; electric shocks; being forced to stand for long periods, sometimes with small stones in the shoes; being forced to assume a sitting position — the 'invisible chair' — for many hours; subjected to murder threats or threats against families; prolonged interrogation and sleep deprivation; psychological disorientation through long-term solitary confinement." The list of abuses is a familiar one to anyone held political prisoner by Israel. Compare the death-in-detention of Steve Biko, which forced attention on the use of torture in South African prisons, with that of Fayez Tarayre, whose death was not reported outside the West Bank (see box below).

In both countries' prisons, political prisoners are given the lowest designation and are denied many of the privileges and rights of criminal prisoners: no sentence remission, no parole and a complete news ban, and one half-hour visit monthly — through a wire mesh screen. In South Africa black political prisoners are held at remote Robben Island, off the Cape Town coast, and whites in Pretoria Prison's maximum security section. Race determines treatment: whites are given beds, blacks sleep on mats, for example, and even diet is determined by race.

In Israeli prisons, especially those in the occupied territories, conditions for Palestinian prisoners of conscience are also more harsh than for Jewish prisoners, whether political or criminal, even though in some prisons they share cells. A maximum security prison was built in the Naqab desert and only Palestinian political prisoners were transferred there in 1980. Prisoners staged a two-month hunger strike to protest oppressive conditions there and two prisoners died from the force-feeding used to break the strike.

Likewise both governments have instituted methods of punishment outside of their judicial system.

Banning and House Arrest

Critics of *apartheid* from all racial groups in South Africa can be put under five-year banning orders under which they are confined permanently to a particular area or under house arrest, must report from once a week to twice a day to the local police, may not speak to more than one person at a time, may not enter any factory, school or university, may not publish, may not be quoted. Hundreds of political activists, whites as well as blacks, have been silenced by these orders, without any charges being made against them. Lawyer A says the orders have been used against writers, unionists, professionals, teachers, priests, journalists and anyone whom the state defines as an 'agitator.' According to a 1978 Amnesty report there were 170 people then under banning, although for obvious reasons it is impossible to have complete current numbers.

A banning order is frequently supplemented by a banishment order, restricting people to remote areas. Dr Mamphela Ramphele, prominent in the mid-70s Black Consciousness movement, was sent to a village near Tzaneen, 1000 kilometres from her home in Kingwilliamstown. Punishment for infringing a banning order is 6-18 months in prison.

Paralleled to South Africa's banning tool to repress resistance is Israel's use of town arrest. Like banning it is an extra-judicial ploy to thwart the building of social, political and cultural networks. The arrests are issued for six-month periods, however, and cases can be appealed in military court — not to question the order but to investigate conditions. None of the several hundred cases of town arrest have ever been cancelled through a court appeal.

Political meetings held outside a building in South Africa require a permit, difficult for the black population — who have few halls at their disposal — to obtain. Unions, like all social institutions, are also colour segregated. Black trade unions were only recently legalised and are strictly regulated and banned if their activities are considered political by the government.

Organised forms of anti-*apartheid* resistance have been outlawed since their emergence in the 1950s. One of the first was the Congress of Democrats, an all-white organisation that believed the battle against racial segregation could be won only through armed struggle. Together with the banned African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress (which, significantly, was not banned), and the South African Coloured Congress the four groups formed the Congress Alliance, the first all-racial resistance body. Their blueprint for the future, the Freedom Charter, which dates from 1955 (Lawyer A: "There was no desire to drive whites to the sea.") was also banned and even now possession of it is punishable by imprisonment. Also banned were the Pan-African Congress, the Communist Party, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and, in the mid-70s, the Black People's Congress (BPC) and the South African Student Organisation (SASO).

The bannings have forced the disintegration of major movements but there has been constant regrouping into new forms of resistance and consciousness-raising. In the 1960s for example, with the black leadership in prison or in exile, students like Steve Biko took over with a black separatist ideology which rejected the government's designation of them as simply 'non-whites.' The slogan of the black consciousness movement became "Black man, you're on your own." The Soweto riots in 1976 were the result, when soldiers opened fire on schoolchildren demonstrating against the use of Afrikaans as the the official teaching language. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people predominantly in the black townships were killed in the anti-*apartheid* resistance over the next two years. The government detained 15 black journalists who reported on the events and banned others.

In the late 70s and into the 1980s, Lawyer A recounts that black and white progressives came together on campus at the twentieth anniversary of the state's founding. Old guard black consciousness students faced the liberal movement of integrated progress and on some fronts have chosen to move together. Added impetus has been the government's decision to hold elections for the South African Indian Council, a government-sponsored advisory board. The decision unified all groups, including whites, into an anti-SAIC progressive movement and revived a regional organisation of the banned South African Indian Congress. Out of this the United Democratic Front emerged last year at the national level; it is led collectively by old activists and has growing support among unions, middle class and 'grass roots' — a virtual re-emergence of the old Congress Alliance, and rejecting the black consciousness ideology. Over 10,000 people attended a UDF rally six months ago.

A more radical grouping formed after Soweto from activists in the BPC and SASO and especially after Biko's death: the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) also spawned a national body called the National People's Congress which affirms the essentialness of black consciousness. It urges the participation of workers at all levels of resistance, has the support of many intellectuals, criticises white liberals for not being anti-racist and is against the old Freedom Charter, which was based on the original UN Charter without its later amendments, such as workers rights.

Anti-Racist Issues

The issues of controversy between groups are much the same among anti-racist South Africans and Palestinians: the role of law, the use of armed struggle and the context of white (or Israeli) participation in the national struggle. Whites in South Africa, claims Dugard, are not seen as settlers, even by the most militant. They are called the 'white tribe' of Africa. Lawyer A estimated that only one percent of the white population actively fights racism and Dugard confirmed that the vast majority are apathetic and that more debate on the issue of racism is apparent among Israelis than South African whites.

The role of law, and therefore the reformist efforts of civil rights lawyers as a legitimising tool of government, has not been brought up by the nationalist groups although it is a debated issue among progressive lawyers in South Africa. There is no strike of lawyers there, however, while half of West Bank lawyers have been striking since 1967.

The subject of armed struggle is generally avoided by the South African national movement since to openly embrace it would automatically cause them to be banned. Resistance measures take the form of strikes, boycotts — and stone-throwing.

The Pass System

Every black South African must have a 'passbook.' Called by the government a 'reference book' it must contain photo, name, government ID number, ethnic classification, tax receipt stamps and employment certification. Employers must sign every month so the employee can travel to his place of work. If the passbook is endorsed 'out,' he cannot travel and loses his job. Until 5 years ago, blacks had to carry it with them at all times but now they are given a 'reasonable opportunity' to produce. The 'reasonableness' is at the government's discretion.

The *Book of Life* is carried only by Indians, coloureds and whites and is merely an ID document with name, government number, driver's licence and marriage status. It is not required for travel within the country.

The Israeli version of the passbook is the military-issued ID, which must be carried by Palestinians at all times. Travel can be restricted by a special military stamp, especially for former political prisoners. The tell-tale stamp can also make the bearer subject to detention at roadblocks, automatic arrest in case of searches and bureaucratic delays at government offices.

Palestinians line up for new Gaza IDs. Both Israel and South Africa have similar identification cards which restrict the movement of Palestinians and black South Africans/POP photo

Fayez Tarayre

The Case of Steve Biko (from Amnesty International Publications, January 1978) — founder of the Black Consciousness movement. Held at Port Elizabeth, he was taken to Pretoria, naked and in chains, the day before his death on 12 September 1977 — almost a month after his detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. When announcing Biko's death, Minister of Justice James Kruger claimed he had died 7 days after starting a hunger strike. After his version was publicly challenged by Donald Woods, editor of an East London newspaper, and others, Kruger denied he had claimed the hunger strike was the cause of death but refused to publish the official *post mortem* report. Press reports that the *post mortem* had revealed extensive brain damage led to the suppression of the main black newspaper, *The World*, and the detention of its editor. Donald Woods was silenced by the imposition of a 5-year banning order. Security police admitted at the November 1977 inquest that Biko had been kept naked and in chains and assaulted during interrogation. He died from head injuries, yet the police were absolved by the inquest magistrate."

The Case of Fayez Abdel Fattah Tarayre (From *Al Fajr* English, October 30, 1981) — "A 23-year-old student at Hebron's Polytechnic, died October 26 (1981) in Tel Hashomer Hospital, Tel Aviv, of a cerebral hemmorhage after being tortured in detention... Fayez's death came just over four months after his arrest by Israeli Shin Bet and army officers. He was arrested June 4 and detained for investigation in Hebron prison. Lawyer Usama Odeh was the first outsider to see Tarayre when he met his client June 25. He said Fayez complained of being severely tortured and of severe pain in his head and chest and difficulty in moving his joints. The lawyer recounted that during the meeting Fayez was trembling and constantly trying to hide his head and genitals as if warding off blows." He was transferred to Ramle prison hospital for treatment where he spent 70 days. On August 11 he was tried for political charges (membership in an illegal organisation) in Hebron court. A special session was arranged in the judge's chambers because Fayez "could not stand up," his lawyer reported. A second defendant, tried the same day on the same charge, was sentneced to two months. Fayez said he was not guilty and his trial was postponed until September 14 and then indefinitely when Fayez went into a coma with what a military doctor said was brucellosis. He told relatives he was constantly beaten in detention and drenched with hot and cold water. His scalp was inflamed and showed evidence of his being dragged by the hair. At his lawyer's insistence, because of his medical condition, Fayez was given release on bail but three days later was still shackled to his hospital bed and guarded by three police. His critical condition prevented him from being moved. He died October 26. His medical report was declared a security document.

Peace in the Middle East will be achieved through persuading Israelis it's worth their while, according to the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East. The two-year-old centre is now trying to do that, studiously avoiding radical interpretations of the conflict. James Smith was recently at ICPME to interview its executive director.

ICPME: TRANSLATING BELIEF INTO POLICY

International Center for Peace in the Middle East

In a suite of offices in central Tel Aviv, not far from the huge defence ministry compound, a group of people work under the rather grandiose title of the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East. In its two-year history the centre has set itself up as perhaps the major lobbying organisation operating in Israel for a peaceful solution. Centre executive director Willi Gafni describes the ICPME as an attempt to mobilise the political force necessary to translate desire for peace into policy. "It is not enough to be correct and just," he told *Al Fajr* in a recent interview. "To translate your beliefs into policy you need political force."

To achieve this the ICPME went to the Israeli establishment. There are 30 members of Knesset from the centrist Israeli parties affiliated with the centre as well as a long list of prominent Israelis in public life. All affiliates are in agreement with ICPME's basic charter which, Gafni says, has succeeded in extricating the need to work for peace as the sole concern of the left. The seven-point programme calls for the achievement of:

* Comprehensive peace in the Middle East;
* Full solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by mutual recognition, self-determination and co-existence;
* Extrication of the Middle East from superpower rivalries and the arms race, both conventional and nuclear;
* Co-operation between the Jewish people and the Arab world;
* Freedom of conscience and religious tolerance;
* Equality of social, cultural and political rights — individual and collective — for religious and national minorities;
* Regional co-operation aimed at developing the area for the benefit of all its peoples.

Outside the Knesset the centre divides its work into three major areas: information, research and education. At the information level the centre has organised a series of activities to explain the Middle East conflict and possible solutions to it to the Israeli public. This is mainly in the form of public meetings addressed by Israelis and Palestinians and on-going contacts with leaders in the various communities in Israel.

ICPME also carries out what Gafni describes as applied research, exploiting the skills of the academics affiliated with the centre. Their first study published late last year was on the human rights situation in the occupied territories. Gafni sees research as vital if their advocacy is to have a solid grounding. He cites their latest study as a case in point. Simcha Bahiri's study of the economic implications of occupation is sure to create controversy when it is distributed. The carefully argued report examines the effect of the occupation on the Israeli economy and describes possible models for post-settlement economic relations with the rest of the Middle East and concludes that Israel would be financially better-off making a peace settlement. Gafni expects the report to have a gradually persuasive impact on the public as the centre raises it implications.

Perhaps the most successful area of ICPME's work is in the field of education. The Israel Jewish-Arab Council for Education, co-chaired by Haifa University lecturer Sami Mar'i and Israel education prize winner Arie Simon, has 120 members and produces monthly packages of supplementary information and material for teachers. Past publications have included research in education for peace, sources for humanistic teaching and works of Zionist philosopher Martin Buber. All are available in Hebrew and Arabic.

Gafni estimates that 1000 teachers have attended their seminars and that perhaps 100,000 pupils have seen some of their material. The aim, he says, is long-range, hoping through a programme of education to foster the belief that there is a possibility of peace and prepare a coming generation to live in changed circumstances.

The ICPME is also active overseas. It has a sizeable membership in Jewish liberal circles abroad and last year brought a group of community leaders to the area for a tour and seminars. Their critical comments after visits to the occupied territories received wide coverage and comment in the Israeli media. Foreign members are active in the field of research and lobbying, Gafni says.

Perhaps the acid test for ICPME is what happens after the summer elections. The centre's MK affiliates are drawn predominantly from Labour and Mapam, but also include members sitting for Shinui, the National Religious Party and the Citizens Rights Party. Gafni expresses satisfaction with the way they have been able to lobby in the Knesset plenum and its committees. They won an undertaking from Defence Minister Moshe Arens that the army would investigate the violations of human rights raised by the ICPME in its report and report back. It is expected that with the approach of elections nothing will now come of this, but Gafni cites it as a good example of the power of the multi-party lobby.

He says that so far the ICPME has been a major force in opposing the policies of the Likud government and if Labour is elected they will be a major force in "helping the government make the right decisions because most MKs will be part of the government."

The ICPME is purposely mainstream, neither the Communist Party nor the radical coalition Committee of Solidarity with Bir Zeit University are represented in their groups. The success they may have will perhaps be an indication of how much the achievement of peace in the region depends on a change in ideology in Israel.

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Palestinian Trade Union Official

Palestinian community along religious-sectarian lines. Born into a Christian Palestinian family, from a young age Abu George rebelled against sectarian division of the Palestinian community and has continued to curse the political use of religion to divide the peoples of the Middle East.

"I left school in 1959 when I was 13 years old. I went to work in construction to help my younger brother continue his studies but then he dropped out and went to work as well. My father was too sick to work and my mother worked as a farm labourer.

"I joined the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party when I was very young. I don't know why I chose this party particularly, perhaps because it was active in our part of the country, but also I liked it because they didn't care about religious differences. As Palestinians, we weren't allowed to participate in political parties in Lebanon. Anyway, I gradually stopped believing in the politics of this party. In 1964 I left. That's also the year I got married. Then I heard about Fatah and became a member.

"I couldn't always find work in construction so I once worked in a social affairs magazine and once in a refreshment company but I always went back to construction. I considered that as my trade and the monthly salary was better than anything else I could find.

"In 1971 I was elected from the construction workers in my camp to represent them in the Lebanon branch of the General Union of Palestinian Workers. In 1975 I was elected branch secretary for foreign relations and vice secretary-general. In December 1983, at our last general conference, I was elected assistant secretary for internal relations for the GUPW.

"I have visited many countries and participated in many conferences but I have got my experience from the struggle among the workers. I haven't had much schooling and we don't have trade union education like in the West, so I am always wishing that I could continue my education.

"I now have six children, from 19- to nine-years-old. They are all in school."

On the Move

"In 1948, after being driven out of our village in the Galilee, my family came to live in Rashidiyeh camp. According to my parents, Palestinians didn't differentiate between Muslims and Christians. But from 1948 to '56 there were two schools set up for us. One set up by UNRWA was for the Muslims and the other, by the Pontifical Mission, for the Christians. I went to the Pontifical Mission school. It seemed to me that the UNRWA school was better and I wanted to go there but they refused to let me attend classes. Khalil Tabari, then director of UNRWA in the Tyre area, was driving through our camp, so I stood in front of his car. I told him I wanted to go to the UNRWA school and he took me there directly.

"In the UNRWA school they had a one-hour *Quran* lesson. Ahmad al-Jishi, the *Quran* teacher, was a member of a right-wing Muslim party. He told me that I couldn't attend the *Quran* lesson though I asked him to let me stay. I complained to the director and he let me back into the class. I was the first in my class in *Quran*.

"In January 1956 the Lebanese government, along with church officials, encouraged Christians in Rashidiyeh to move. Our *mukhtars* agreed. I remember our neighbours crying as we left for Dbayeh camp. The government also founded Jis al-Basha and Mar Elias for Christians in east Beirut. Our camps were located in a beautiful place on a mountainside overlooking the sea but as Palestinians we were treated the same as before. We weren't allowed to participate in politics and there were two police stations in the small camp, one for the ordinary police and one for the *Deuxieme Bureau* (political police).

"I still had many friends in Rashidiyeh and I had to apply for a permit from the *Deuxieme Bureau* if I wished to visit them. There were checkpoints along the way. We were allowed to visit other camps in Beirut but it was forbidden to visit those outside the city. In 1969, after the Cairo agreement was signed [ed. note: putting the running of the camps into the hands of the PLO] some Muslim families came to live in our camps. The Lebanese authorities were not happy with this.

"In May 1973 Palestinian forces arrested two Lebanese army soldiers. Our camp of 3000, near Juneh, was attacked by the Lebanese army and six people were killed.

"In 1975, at the start of the civil war, our camp was the first one attacked by the Phalangists and the Lebanese army. They rounded up people in the church yard. They didn't allow the families of the recent martyrs to cry. They ordered us to say, 'Palestine's Jesus is a pimp.' Then they brought bulldozers and began to destroy our homes.

"Amin Gemayel was responsible for this area. He came and stopped the bulldozers — stopped them for the Palestinian vote. When Camille Chamoun was president some Christian Palestinians had voted for the Phalangists. There were no Palestinian organisations as such at the time. The majority of families who had fighters in Fatah left the camp.

"At the time I was working in the trade union office in Beirut. They kicked my family out of the camp and took their house. We found a place to live in West Beirut and then we had to move to another house. We didn't pay rent then because by order of the interior ministry, refugees didn't have to pay.

"In October 1982, following the Israeli invasion, the house owners came to my family and told them to pay rent or leave. I was out of the country but I told them they should pay the rent. But after awhile they began to threaten my family and told them to leave. The police came and we told them we couldn't find another house and they said we could stay. Now no one will rent to Palestinians and those who already have Palestinian tenants will rent only for limited periods."

Abu George left Beirut for Tunis in October 1982 and returned in April 1983 to renew his travel document. He was put under house arrest for four months and when he was released the Lebanese authorities returned his passport and he left again for Tunis.

Now when he is asked about his future plans he sighs. He wants his family to stay in Lebanon if possible, even if he has to work in Tunis, but he is always worried about their safety: "If we had a home in a camp we could go there but there are no places. Palestinians are not allowed to repair houses in Beirut destroyed during the last war," he explains. Abu George is also worried about the futures of the Palestinian fighters in the camp in Tunis. "What is the future of such people?" he ponders.

EARLY MORNING HOURS IN PRISON

by Mohammed Khalil Elian

Mohammed Khalil Elian is a prisoner at Nafha jail. This work, dedicated to Ali Ja'afari and Rasem Hakweh who died during the Nafha hunger strike in 1980, was first published in Al Kateb. *The Ramallah-based monthly gives regular space to stories by prison authors.*

He laid down on the bare cell floor — his toes touched the wall as he closed his eyes for the thousandth time, trying to get some sleep. He turned on his side and gave a quiet sigh. He counted from one to 1000 but how could he get any sleep when he felt pain throughout his body with severe stomach pain and headache? The early morning light penetrated his eyes like needles and distant screams kept him awake and disturbed. He turned over on his other side and gave a deep sigh. He wished he could sleep for even one moment, then he would wake up stronger. He tried to clear his mind of the thoughts that had been overwhelming him. He tried to shut his eyes again, with force this time, and covered his face with his handkerchief, to cut down on the glare from the light bulb. He started counting... 1, 2, 3... 50. The screams get louder and penetrate his ears. He hears quick footsteps. He jumps up and stands by the steel cell door. He puts his ear close to the door hoping to hear something to understand what is happening. He hears the noise of a key opening a door and a door opens. He sits on the floor, leans back on the wall with his arms around his knees waiting for his turn; he does not know when it will be.

He does not know how much time he passed sitting like this. His arms and legs look green and almost lose the feeling of pain. He feels suffocated by the heat as though he were sitting in the midst of a fire. His clothes become wet with sweat and stick to his body. His lips and mouth dry and he feels thirsty. He wishes he could get just a drop of water, not more, to wet his dry lips. He realises that this is far-fetched. It may be a long time before he can quench this killing thirst with a drop of water. He may never get it — yet — who knows? This thought started going through his mind — yes — he may never get it — who knows? He does not know, and neither do his friends who were transported with him in the same van. All he knows it that these things happened in the past and can happen today. It is true they were not able to break the strike by force, but they were killed.They were killed every time an attempt was made to break the strike. He tried to kick out this bad thought from his mind but he couldn't. It was stubbornly holding on to him. So let it be — the important thing is that he will not end the strike until all the demands are met. But can he be strong enough to face what can happen when he is so weak physically? He was determined to continue the strike relying on sheer will power which should be enough for him. It is true it is the eighth day of the strike and that he feels pain everywhere. It is also true that the long trip caused him more exhaustion and severe headaches and that standing by the wall for more than two hours has also exhausted him completely. It is true that he burns inside from thirst. All this is true, but wasn't the strike his last weapon to get his demands? Wasn't that his final fate in the long journey of suffering?He has to keep on to the end and should not disappoint his friends who are no better off than he.

He moved in place, trying to stand up — maybe that will move him. But he collapsed quickly from his pain. He tried to support his back as the pain intensified in his joints. He felt his head about to burst. He sighs and then licks his lips with whatever is left of his saliva. Water is all he is asking for now. He feels he is burning up. He closes his eyes to imagine himself by a well in the middle of the camp. He jumps into the well and starts drinking until it is dry, but he cannot quench his thirst. So he jumps into another and drinks it dry. But that isn't enough, so he goes on to a third and a fourth... Still he is not satisfied. All the water in the world is not enough. Ah... How sweet water is. A few hours ago he refused to drink water and drank only by force from his friends who said it would help his blood pressure. He would get sick if he drank one glass of water. But now he realises what a fool he was. He realises the difference between hunger and thirst. He was able to tolerate hunger for eight days. Who knows? The number may reach 30 or 40 or 50, and he will still be able to survive hunger; but thirst, how long can he take it? They know how to torture him. They didn't take him to the clinic immediately to break his strike. Instead they threw him into an isolation cell with a black wall, with a hole in its middle, without a toilet or tap. They left him to suffer many hours of thirst, hunger, heat, exhaustion and waiting... waiting?

He thought of the word 'yes'... waiting... it is the most difficult thing facing a prisoner in such conditions. He sits in a small cell for something he does not know the results of. But the screaming he keeps hearing gives him a hint that it is horrible. If they had taken him first, it would all be over now. If he knew when his time would come, he could wait with less agony, but he does not know. Are they going to take him at this moment or after two or three hours? There is no doubt he will suffer here and suffer there... yes... there.

The screaming gets louder taking him back to the prison cells. He feels his heart about to jump from his ribs. He feels a chill going through his body at heavy footsteps getting closer and the screaming accompanying it getting louder. He figured out that one of the *fedayin* was brought back and that someone else will be taken out. Who is the 'next' to be taken... it could be him... who knows? He was comfortable with this idea. It could be him to be taken away next, to end this difficult moment of hunger and thirst... it does not matter now... The important thing is to see the end.

What's the time now?

He kept on hearing screaming from a distance and words like "no...-no...I will not eat." Then he is still being tortured. He would not be screaming if the torture was unbearable. Where can he get strength from to bear all this torture? He will hold like Abu Sa'ad who is still screaming and like other prisoners to preceded him like Abu al-Fahm and al-Khawaja. That is what he decided.

Footsteps coming up the staircase woke him from his thoughts. He heard screams of pain and insults. He stood up with difficulty and leaned against the wall. He got very close to the door but got dizzy and nearly fell on the floor. He held himself up and tried to listen to the footsteps coming down the stairs. The sound was getting closer and closer. He then heard the key chain jangle on the jailer's belt. It passed his cell and stopped at the next cell. He heard the door open then a hard blow and a choking scream. The door was shut with force and the footsteps returned. They got closer to his cell. The key was put into the door and turned twice. The door does not open so another key is tried. At this moment memories come back to his mind. What are his friends at Nafha thinking of now as they lay on their beds with pain in their stomachs? They must be worried about our future.

He remembered the camp and its tin houses and the well in its center where they used to meet during the summer nights. He remembered his father with his old face and tired hands. 'When I get out of jail, father, I will not let you work any more. I will work in your place. It is time you get some rest. You have been using the shovel for 50 years to build a bright future for your children.' He saw at this moment his mother in one corner of the Red Cross office among the mothers who were on strike there. He remembered her voice: 'Take care of yourself, my son.'

He once told her when she visited him in prison that they will go on hunger strike which may last for a long time. She looked at him with a sad eye and said, "We will then strike with you. After this visit we will go to the Red Cross. We are with you all the way."

He walked in a long hall. He noticed it was clean. Flowers that do not have any smell were hanging on the walls and a big painting of bright colours of a palm tree on a long beach and iron cages with all kinds of dumb birds in them.

He got near the clinic. He stood near the step looking at the big room. Its walls were decorated with different drawings. On the right he saw a small table with some bread and tomatos on it. Near it was a thick plastic tube connected to a big container with a white liquid in it. On the left, he saw a big balance near a male nurse he saw before this time, standing like a bull, and wearing a coat covered with red spots. Officers were standing there too. In one corner he saw a water pitcher full of water with plastic sticks near it and big splotches of blood covering a large area of the room.

"Welcome, hero," said the nurse in a sarcastic way. He added pointing to a small chair, "Sit down." He moved a few steps and fell on the chair. A small officer came near him and put his hand on his shoulders.

"You are hungry. I know why you did not eat over there (at Nafha). There you were among your friends who refused to eat too. You cannot eat in front of them because that would embarrass you. But here things are different. Here is a detention center, not Nafha. You want good air? Here is plenty of air, so fill your lungs. You want a larger exercise area? Here the area is larger than Maccabee Tel Aviv field. What else do you want; a bed to keep you off the wet floor? Fine. Here we have beds covered with white blankets and we do not have any cases of arthritis or back pain. What else; food? Our kitchen here is better than all the Oriental kitchens. A visit from the family? Here the prisoners are visited twice every month. You also want a radio to hear news of the world? Fine. Here you can watch television. What else did you ask for? Good treatment? Everything here is good. Didn't you see the flowers and birds in the hall? In short, there is no need for your strike here. Everything you want is available. This is one. Number two, which is more important, you should know that all your friends have already eaten."

"You want me to answer you frankly. I do not want to waste your time. Fine. Here is what I think. I went on hunger strike eight days ago with 80 other prisoners. I will not end the strike without the 80 prisoners; do you understand?"

The prison male nurse gave him a blow on his ear that caused him to lose his balance, then he hit him in his stomach.

"Son of a bitch; get up"

He stood up with his hand on his stomach. He could not see anything because of the blow. He was not able to hear well either.

"Take off your clothes."

He started to take off his clothes but was too weak to do that. He fell on the floor from the pain. The officer held him from his arm and pulled him up.

He started beating him again. "You will not be able to take more than this. Sooner or later you will eat. Save yourself all the trouble and end your strike."

A black cloud with white spots covered his eyes. He could not hear anything, then he passed out.

He felt cold running through his body, then he opened his eyes. He found himself on the chair surrounded by officers and drops of water coming down his naked body. He felt the pain in his stomach. He did not have any strength to move his hands or feet. His neck hurt very much and found difficulty in swallowing. But he was still alive. He can feel, hear, see and think. Yes this is the important thing; he still can think. He felt good; he did not know why. He was still alive.

The nurse came close to him. He took the tube connected to the container full of the white liquid and said: "I told you if you do not eat from your mouth, you will eat from your (...)."

He came very close to him and held him from his shoulder quickly turning him over on his face. He stepped on his back while the others held his legs which were moving fast in pain. The nurse took the tube and penetrated the tube into his anus. He screamed very loud and felt his stomach on fire as the liquid was runing inside him.

"Open your mouth."

He closed his mouth on the tube in an attempt to block the liquid from coming into his mouth. The liquid was gradually decreasing until the container was empty.

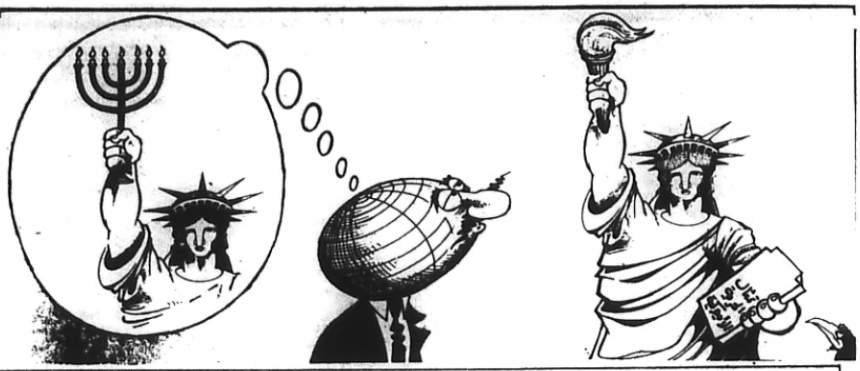
"Enough. He had enough," the small officer said. "Untie him and take him back to his cell, then bring someone else."

He moved his hands with difficulty and tried to shut his mouth with his hand to prevent himself from throwing up. But the white liquid came out of his mouth mixed with blood.

"Carry your clothes and go like you are, naked. Move it," the small officer said as he threw his cloths on him piece by piece.

You were naked walking tall like a mountain. Your head was raised like a banner. Hope was coming from your eyes and an eternal smile on your face. The mute birds have received you with whistles. The flowers that did not have any smell are spreading their scent on you. The bright painting met you with illuminating colours. And when you looked towards the hole, the dawn was coming out of the darkness. (Translation: Al-Kateb, September 1983)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The hijacking of the Israeli bus by four Palestinian commandos and the near agreement of PLO factions were the main stories in local papers this week.

All three local dailies ran a front-page story April 14 and a strip of pictures of the bullet riddled bus and injured Israelis. The following day Al Fajr daily ran the only published photos of the destroyed homes of the families of the commandos.

The agreed upon meeting in Algiers of major PLO factions brought optimism to all local dailies.

Political Considerations

Some papers are trying to take the coming meeting among the Palestinian parties as a sign of a split among the four powers which issued the Aden declaration and as an attempt to move away from South Yemen in favor of Algiers as the site of the next meeting.

In addition to the fact that they are unfounded, these reports intend to leave a question mark over the unity of the four organisations which agreed to the joint statement issued in Aden which set the grounds for starting dialogue. They also try to leave an impression that there were side agreements made favouring one group or another.

Dialogue between the four organisations and Fatah is the correct way to solve disputes. The success of this dialogue is necessary to bolster unity in the PLO and the struggle of the Arab and international liberation movements. It will also improve the position of the PLO as sole representative of the Palestinian people among these movements.

AL TALIA
April 12

Unfair Measures

The regulations on issuing a building licence in the West Bank allow only a handful of the citizens to meet these conditions, thus bringing the construction market to a standstill.

The concerned authorities specify that anyone who wants to build a house must go to Ramallah to have the blueprints certified, pay fees and taxes, etc.

The second condition, which is more complicated, is that the minimum width of the land should be 40 metres. This means the area of the land should be a minimum of two dunums. How many residents have this much land? Many have only several square metres to build a small shelter.

The archaeology department comes in to complicate things further, stalling in giving an opinion on the lot to be used for building.

All these difficulties would lead the citizens to either forget about building or build without a licence under the threat of fines and punishment. These measures should be reconsidered and eased so that the citizens can obtain a building licence without complications, as is the case in every city throughout the world.

AL QUDS
April 12

Our Votes Will Not Be Stolen

It is clear the different Zionist parties are fighting hard to steal as many Arab votes as they can for the next Knesset elections.

The Likud, Alignment, Mafdal (National Religious Party), Tami and Weizman's party have all started campaigning among the Arabs. We do not rule out the possibility that Rafael Eitan, Geula Cohen and Meir Kahane will also believe they can have a share of Arab votes. If the Likud, the party responsible for the Deir Yassin and Sabra and Shatila massacres, the Alignment, responsible for the Kufr Qassem and Land Day massacres, and the Mafdal, author of the Koenig report, dare to seek Arab votes, why shouldn't the others do the same thing?

The simple fact that these parties are campaigning for Arab votes is racist arrogance and an insult to the Arab people.

This attempt to win Arab votes is not aimed at winning more votes for the elections but reflects a Zionist strategy to use the Arabs as a cover for their repression of the Palestinian people in general, and us in particular. They want to keep us divided and reduce our role in public life here.

This week Peres announced that if he returns to power, he will not dismantle any settlement in the occupied lands. Before this the Alignment passed a law annexing the Golan Heights to Israel. So what did the Arab members in the Alignment do? Why did members like Mohammed Wattad and Hamad Khalayleh skip the Knesset session on the first day of the war in Lebanon when the Front called for a vote of no confidence in the government?

As the Arab people stand now to face an important political battle that has to do with its existence, it needs, more than ever before, to foil this conspiracy. It needs to strengthen and expand the ranks standing behind the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

AL ITTIHAD
April 13

The Auction

Israeli minister Yuval Ne'eman said that several settlements will be constructed before the next Knesset elections scheduled for July 23.

This statement is a real reflection of official Israeli policies. It also is a campaign issue between the two major parties, the Likud and the Alignment, each competing over who can be more antagonistic to the Palestinian rights.

As the Likud is showing off, the Alignment can also take 'pride' in its settlement accomplishments in the occupied territories and for expropriating huge tracts.

This outbidding done at the expense of peace in this region proves once again the similarities between the two major Israeli parties in their position towards our cause.

AL SHA'AB
April 14

On Deterrent Forces

No one can deny the role Syria played following the 1982 war. The evidence alone proves that what was reported through 'yellow' journalism — that Syria is cooperating with Washington, or that Syria is ready to sign a peace agreement with Israel on south Lebanon and the Golan Heights, or that Syria cooperated with Israel and Libya in the Tripoli siege — are nothing more than air bubbles which served only the pockets of hired writers. Our proof is that those who said all these things in the past are now flattering Syria for its stand.

But our topic is rather the proposition agreed upon by Walid Jumblatt which calls for the return of the deterrent forces to Lebanon to resolve the conflict and put an end to the fighting there.

It may be true that the deterrent forces of the late 1970s are not the same as today's and that Syria of yesterday is different from today. But this will not be enough to resolve Lebanon's problems.

This is because the Lebanon of today is not that of yesterday. The Lebanese nationalist movement which was able, with Syria's help and that of the Palestinian revolution, to expel the mutinational forces and abrogate the May 17 agreement is alone the one to take control of Lebanon and run things there, as long as it maintains its revolutionary methods and keeps its alliance with Syria and the Palestinian revolution.

A deterrent force to resolve the conflict and reconcile the nationalist and separatist forces is not going to be of assistance to the Lebanese nationalist movement but may obstruct its work.

AL MITHAQ
April 14

Behind El Salvadors' Move

The decision by El Salvador to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem did not come as a surprise to political observers monitoring the special relationship between the fascist regime in El Salvador and Israel.

* Over the past several years, El Salvador was one of Israel's staunch supporters in international organisations. It used to vote in favour of Israel and against the Arabs on any bill at the UN or any of its institutions;

* Israel was and still is a supplier of technology to the military dictatorship in El Salvador.

* Israel was and still is a source supplying El Salvador with arms, particularly following a decision by former US President Jimmy Carter banning arms shipments to El Salvador. Israel is also sending military advisors to El Salvador to help the ruling dictators suppress the revolution spreading throughout the country.

Some observers explain the success and continuation of the relationship between Israel and El Salvador as a result of continued cooperation between them in spite of the continued violations by the latter of human rights there and in spite of the fact that many nations severed relations with El Salvador in protest against its crimes and inhuman treatment of the Salvadoran people.

There is another factor which encouraged El Salvador to move its embassy to Jerusalem. This is the inability of the Arab countries to penetrate Latin America. If there were an Arab presence there, El Salvador would not have succumbed to Israeli pressures on this matter.

We do not wish to talk here about the illegal decision by El Salvador to move its embassy to Jerusalem. This is because the regime there is itself a dictatorship and keeps its 'legitimacy' from the flesh and blood of the Salvadoran people. However, we want to stress that this decision should serve as a warning to the Arab countries to reconsider their policies towards Latin America. We want to point here to a current visit by an Arab League delegation to Bolivia, a Latin American nation, which undoubtedly is an important step on the right road through which the Arab countries would restructure their Latin American policies and challenge Israeli pressures.

AL FAJR
April 15

Al Fajr Editor Addresses British Journalists

The managing editor of *Al Fajr* English weekly, Sam'an Khoury, spoke to an *ad hoc* committee of the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in London April 10 about press conditions in the occupied territories. The trip and invitation was sponsored by the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), which has members affiliated to the union.

The *ad hoc* committee invited Khoury to speak at their union's annual conference the next day but after the Friends of the *Histadrut* (the Israeli Labour Federation) asked the NUJ for 'equal time,' Khoury's address was taken off the schedule.

About 25 journalists heard Khoury describe Israeli violations of freedom to publish and to free speech against the Palestinian press, a deliberate policy he called: 'Some of the news to some of the people.' He detailed Israeli control of political expression through licencing procedures, censorship, news blackouts, arrests, movement restrictions and banning and confiscations and reported on recent specific cases of press harassment and the double 'security' standard used for Israeli and Palestinian newspapers.

The NUJ conference passed a resolution condemning Israeli censorship and harassment against journalists. A draft resolution to send a NUJ delegation to the West Bank and Gaza to meet with Palestinian journalists was stopped but another resolution that the International Federation of Journalists follow up on the conditions of Palestinian journalists and extend greetings of support was passed.

A proposal was submitted to the union's meeting that the Israeli *Histadrut* be condemned for its participation in building settlements in the occupied territories. The proposal was never brought to the floor for discussion because of 'lack of time.'

While in London Khoury met with ministers of parliament and British colleagues at CAABU's invitation.

In 1982 Khoury spent three weeks in detention, in solitary confinement, and was interrogated on a variety of subjects, including his opinion of the Sabra-Shatila massacre. He finally faced a military court trial and was convicted of possessing two banned publications. He was sentenced to the time he had already spent in jail and a one year suspended sentence.

Jenin Sheikh Fined for Leaflet

The Israeli military court in Jenin gave Sheikh Mohammed Fuad Abu Zeid, the director of the Islamic *waqf* committee in Jenin, six months suspended sentence and fined him IS50,000 April 11. He was convicted of possession of an Islamic leaflet.

Sheikh Abu Zeid was given a week to pay the fine or face imprisonment.

Bethlehem U. Book Fair Success

The fifth annual three-day book exhibition at Bethlehem University sponsored by the cultural club of the student council ended April 15. More than 2000 scientific, cultural and political books were exhibited.

The university's assembly hall was crowded with visitors from various parts of Palestine who bought more than 75 percent of the exhibited books. Bethlehem University students posted placards calling for the unity of the Palestinian writers and journalists abroad. Visitors wrote their comments appreciating the quality of the exibit.

Last year Bethlehem University was closed for two months after the military confiscated a number of Palestinian national posters.

continued from page 1

Rumors of Summary Execution

York Times correspondant in Israel, David Shipler, wrote: press photographers and reporters watching the event saw only two dead commandos in the bus. The other two were apparently taken prisoner.

The New York Times report continued, the daily newspaper *Hadashot* has a photograph taken immediately after the attack of Israeli troops on the bus. In the picture Israeli security men are seen holding both arms of a man who looked like one of the commandos, taking him away from the site. The man taken away looked frightened but didn't look wounded and walked by his own power. He was handcuffed.

The New York Times quoted the *Hadashot* editor explaining that he had no evidence that the man was one of the commandos and that *Hadashot* didn't publish the picture because it knew the censor would not approve it. *The New York Times* reporter also quotes the editor of the weekly *Koteret Rashit*, who also saw Israeli security men taking away the same man. According to his version, the man was not wounded and was taken to one of the tents that were erected on the site. Officials in the defence ministry repeated the official version that two commandos died from their wounds and two others died in the course of the release-action.

HaOlam HaZeh weekly magazine's report on the event had a whole page that should have contained two photographs from the spot cancelled by the censor.

Hadashot daily wrote in its editorial the same day: "Don't kill them in the dark, please. Not in dark, there are enough daylight hours for this and there are quite a few people interested to watch.

"Not in a hidden place, not in a staircase, not alone, not without audience, my troop of fighters. It is permitted to kill in daylight. It's a shame to kill them in the dark if it is permitted to kill them in daylight.

"According to *The New York Times* there is a probability that in the photograph that the editors of *Hadashot* hold, one of the four hijackers of bus No. 300 is seen standing between Israeli security forces. Alive, not necessarily wounded.

"The Israeli army's spokesperson responded to the publication in *The New York Times* on April 16 announcing the possibly the editors made a mistake in the identification of the men on the picture. In other words, you don't know what you see. Maybe not. But I know only one way to confront the response of the Israeli army's spokesperson, which is to publish the picture. Why is it preferred to kill them in the dark if it is permitted to do it in daylight?"

Secret Burial

Israeli forces buried April 15 the bodies of the four young men who hijacked the Israeli bus in a special plot of land in the Gaza Strip. *Ma'ariv* newspaper reported the four corpses were transferred to a state autopsy centre in Gaza, then to the autopsy hospital in Abu Kbir and then back to a medical institute in Gaza, where members of their families were summoned to identify the corpses in the presence of a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross, two doctors and a judge.

Israeli authorities only permitted one person from each family to see the corpses and to attend the funeral. Fathers of Subhi Abu Jame' and Jamal Qabalan and the brothers of Mohammed Barakeh and Majdi Abu Jame' attended the funeral. The Israeli *Ma'ariv* newspaper reported that a Gaza judge supervised the procedure.

The bodies were buried in a remote and isolated region in the Gaza Strip. The names of the martyrs were written on their tombs.

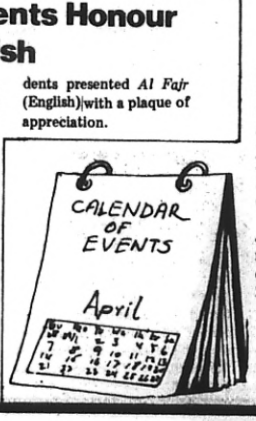
Only the Israel authorities, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Gaza judge were informed of the site of the graves. Israeli authorities justified this procedure, saying it is a policy adopted against Palestinian fighters killed in battles with Israeli soldiers. The authorities bury them in remote areas to prevent their tombs becoming shrines and those of those killed, saints. The newspaper pointed out that the families of those who were killed must get permission from the authorities to visit the graves. (Translation: Al Fajr, April 15, 19, 1984.)

Old City Students Honour AL FAJR English

Sixteen sixth-grade Jerusalem students visited the offices of *Al Fajr* (English) April 14 and met with newspaper editors and staff as part of extra-curricular school activities.

The youth from the Martyre Dumyanah Coptic Orthodox School in Jerusalem's Old City visited the newspaper's editorial and production offices on Hatem Ta'ee Street accompanied with their English language teacher.

After hearing about the newspaper and seeing the various sections of the paper, the students presented *Al Fajr* (English) with a plaque of appreciation.



April 20
GOOD FRIDAY

JERUSALEM — Tenebrae Service in English, 9:00 am.
Gottesdienst (Deutsch), 10:30 am.
Gedenkfeier zur Sterbestunde Jesu (Deutsch) 3:00 pm.
Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Old City.

JERUSALEM — Trade unions mark Prisoners' Day at headquarters on Salah al-Din Street, 2:00 pm.

April 21

UM AL-FAHM — Youth of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality will hold a National Arab-Jewish Meeting for Friendship, Fraternity and Understanding. Subject: 'The Young Generation and the Election Campaign.' Transportation: Jerusalem — Binyane Ha'uma, 8:00 am; Tel Aviv — Allenby Post Office, 8:30 am, Heykhal Hatarbuth, 8:30 am; Haifa — Khouri Street (Sollel Borech Building) 9:00 am. (Arabic, Hebrew).

HAIFA — An open-to-the-public planning session for a future conference on 'The Problems of Women Workers' will be sponsored by three Israeli women's groups in solidarity with the Palestinian people (based in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa): 10:30 am, in the 'Shutafut Building', 2 Abbas Street. (Arabic, Hebrew, English).

JERUSALEM — Ceremony of the Holy Fire at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Old City, 1:00 pm.

April 22
EASTER SUNDAY

JERUSALEM — Garden Tomb Services:
German — 5:00 am.
English — 6:30 am.
Scandanavian — 9:00 am.
Finnish — 10:00 am.
Dutch — 11:00 am.

Apartment for Rent

JERUSALEM — Three bedrooms, 2 living rooms, in Shiyah Ras al-Amoud: call 281163.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Dabkeh dancers perform during celebrations marking Prisoners' Day at Ibrahimiya College April 17. Below, an exhibit of Palestinian folklore highlighted the Prisoners' Day activities of the Women's Committee for Social Action held at the *Nadi Muwazafin* in Jerusalem/ AO photos

April 11, 1984

PRESSURE ON UNRWA TO REOPEN COLLEGE

RAMALLAH — A petition signed by student unions in Palestinian universities in the West Bank asked UNRWA officials to reopen the Teacher's College in Ramallah, closed over a dispute between the administration and students. The petition was also signed by youth and women's committees and by labour unions.

GALILEE YOUTHS ARRESTED

An Acre magistrates court ordered four youths from Kabul, in the Galilee, be remanded for six days on suspicion of assaulting a television crew who accompanied Labour leader Shimon Peres during a visit he made tc their village last week.

DHEISHEH RESIDENTS FINED

DHEISHEH — A 70-year-old resident of Dheisheh refugee camp was fined IS10,000 by a military court in Ramallah after being charged with violating a curfew last November. Eight others ranging in age between 20 and 55 were ordered to pay IS15,000 each on the same charge.

ELECTRICITY COMPANY PURSUED

JERUSALEM — The chief engineer of the Jerusalem District Electricity Company, Abd al-Rahman Hasson, was released on IS150,000 bail after being detained for one day. Hasson was arrested on orders of Jerusalem's Municipal Court in compliance with a request by the Israeli-run Jerusalem municipality.

The municipality claimed the Palestinian JDEC has violated an order to stop work on building a roof at their new generating stations. It said the construction was illegal and should be removed.

DARWISH LEAVES VIENNA

VIENNA — Palestinian sources here said Mahmoud Darwish, a well-known Palestinian poet, left Vienna to Paris to recuperate from a severe heart attack he suffered more than five weeks ago. Darwish was rushed to a Vienna hospital for treatment after the heart attack. He was elected head of the Union of Palestinian Writers at a meeting in North Yemen last week.

SOCIAL SECURITY RAIDS

JERUSALEM — Collectors from the Israeli social security office raided the home of Mousa Abbasi in Silwan, a Jerusalem neighbourhood, under the pretext Mousa'a son Mohammed has not paid his insurance fees.

COURT TO CONSIDER TORTURE CASE

JERUSALEM — A Nablus military court agreed last Thursday to hold a special session to consider conditions under which the military extracted a confession from Fara'a prisoner Nidal Hussein Rabah. Lawyer Jawad Boulos, Rabah's attorney, was allowed to present his client to any physician he wishes to give him a medical report on his client's condition. The court also ordered that all interrogators who were involved in questioning Rabah appear at the hearing.

Rabah explained how he was stripped naked by an interrogator on his third day in detention and sprayed with cold water for a long period. A sack was then put over his head and he was tied up while interrogators extinguished cigarettes on his hands and neck. He was also thrown on the floor and beaten on the head, he said.

Rabah, 15, was arrested March 12 on charges of stoning Israeli vehicles.

The court earlier heard testimony of Nablus resident Ahmad Walid Shaqou, held since February 2, of his torture in Fara'a. Shaqou complained he was interrogated in the nude in a very cold room and prevented from going to the toilet or eating for long periods. He said he was beaten regularly for 30 days by soldiers trying to force him to confess. Fara'a punitive detention centre, near Jenin, is run by the General Security Services (Shin Bet).

SOLDIERS ROB ARAB

JERUSALEM — A Jerusalem police spokesperson said three Israeli soldiers robbed an Arab taxi driver near the Ramot Rahel settlement. The spokesperson said the police are searching for the three soldiers.

36 FARA'A PRISONERS RELEASED

RAMALLAH — Thirty-six Palestinian youths held at Fara'a prison were released after the military ordered them to pay fines instead of the jail terms they were sentenced to. The youths were held on charges of demonstrating.

April 12, 1984

HAND GRENADE NEAR TEL AVIV

TEL AVIV — A hand grenade was discovered in the town of Bnai Brak, near Tel Aviv, and safely defused. The grenade was discovered near a small shop.

MILITARY HARASS DAY CARE CENTRES

BETHLEHEM — Bethlehem's military governor arrived unexpectedly at three day care centres in Dheisheh camp to check whether they have operating permits.

FORMER MOSSAD MAN GIVEN CHARGE OF ARAB AFFAIRS

JERUSALEM — A former employee of the Israeli intelligence agency, Mossad, was appointed Wednesday as coordinator for the occupation authorities in the West Bank and Gaza. Shmuel Goren will replace Binyamin Ben Eliezer, who resigned to join Ezer Weizman's list for the next Knesset elections.

DRUZE WANT PRISONER RELEASED

ACRE — The Druze Initiative Committee issued a statement urging the public to pressure the Israeli government to comply with demands from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine for an exchange of prisoners. The DFLP is holding a Druze soldier in the Israeli army it wants to exchange for Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli jails.

FINED FOR CARRYING LEAFLET

JENIN — Jenin's *waqf* director, Mohammed Fouad Abu Zeid, was given a six-month suspended sentence by a military court here and fined IS50,000 on charges of being in possession of a leaflet.

ROOF COLLAPSES IN BETHLEHEM SCHOOL

BETHLEHEM — A student at Bethlehem Preparatory School for Girls was injured when part of a classroom roof fell in on her. Three other rooms were vacated as the administration feared a similar accident. The school informed the Bethlehem district education department of the possibility of such an accident last week.

April 13, 1984

HEAVY TAX

NABLUS — The owner of a stone-cutting factory in Wadi al-Tufah, west of Nablus, was ordered by the Israeli tax department to pay the equivalent of JD2000 as a fine for not paying taxes. The owner complained that he has paid taxes regularly.

SETTLEMENTS SOON

Priority for constructing settlements will be given to those that will be built south of Hebron and near Nablus, Yuval Ne'eman, chairperson of the ministerial settlement committee, said. He denied claims that there is not enough money to build the settlements. He said construction of the settlements will start immediately.

YOUTHS ARRESTED

NABLUS — Several youths were arrested after Israeli military ve-

hicles were stoned and tyres were burnt in the city's commercial area. Soldiers used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators.

NINTH ANNIVERSARY FOR MASSACRE

JERUSALEM — Today marks the ninth anniversary of the massacre of 25 Palestinian children on the way to school near Beirut by Phalange militias. The incident sparked the civil war in Lebanon.

April 14, 1984

BIR ZEIT STUDENTS HARASSED

JERUSALEM — Student sources said Israeli occupation forces recently raided several homes of members of Bir Zeit University's Student Council and other student blocs. Identity cards of relatives were confiscated so that the students sought who were not found during the raid will be forced to give themselves in to the police.

CHECKPOSTS AROUND ASKAR CAMP

NABLUS — Checkposts were set up at the entrances of Askar refugee camp on Friday. Camp residents who were entering or leaving the camp had their identity cards checked.

April 15, 1984

JUSTICE ISRAELI-STYLE

TEL AVIV — Jerusalem's district court declared the nephew of Meir Khahane, the leader of the extremist *Kach* movement, charged with shooting at Arabs in the Old City of Jerusalem last spring, not guilty of the charges. The court explained as the reason for this decision that Hanouch Kahane fired at the Arabs in self-defence.

TEENAGER COMPLAINS OF TORTURE

JERUSALEM — TAKE OUT-risoner, Abd Al-Aziz Qablawi, 16, complained during his trial by a Nablus military court, April 12, that he was tortured during his detention at Fara'a. He said he was beaten all over his body and forced to stay on his feet for long hours with a paper bag on his head. He said he was also put in a wet cell which forced him to sign confesssion papers.

Qablawi, a Jenin resident, was arrested in February on charges of demonstrating and rock-throwing.

REPORTS OF SUSPICIOUS BODIES INCREASE

JERUSALEM — Jerusalem police department received 12 calls from individuals reporting suspicious objects or persons The police were put on full alert.

FOUR YOUTHS FROM FAWAR CAMP SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — Four youths from Fawar refugee camp were given prison terms ranging between 12 to 18 months by a Ramallah military court on charges of raising a Palestinian flag, setting fire to the police station in Fawar and stone-throwing. The four youths are all 17 years of age.

UNIONISTS RELEASED

JERUSALEM — Six unionists from Bethlehem were released on bail April 10 after spending three days in detention. The unionists were arrested during a raid on the headquarters of the Union of Public Institutions.

PALESTINIAN ARRESTED FOR ACTIVITIES ABROAD

JERUSALEM — A Palestinian youth, Hakam Arref Baker, from Kufr al-Labad, was arrested on a visit to his family here from Qatar. Baker, arrested January 11, was charged with participating in Land Day activities in 1982 in Qatar and attending a lecture by Abu Iyad.

WARNING AGAINST ANTI-PALESTINIAN ACTS

TUNIS — A PLO official warned Israel against any terroristic acts on Palestinians in retaliation for the bus operation. The official held Israel responsible for the death of the guerrillas and the Israeli soldier.

JORDAN HANDS PRISONER TO ISRAEL

JERUSALEM — A Palestinian engineer living in Amman, Samir Hillo, was handed over by Jordan to Israel after he refused to cooperate with the Jordanian intelligence. Hillo was summoned by Jordan's intelligence on February 26 and questioned on his activities in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and about military training in Libya and East Germany. But when Hillo, a resident of Jericho, refused to cooperate, he was handed over to the Israeli army on the Jordan bridge.

Hillo is now held in a Ramallah jail awaiting trial here on the Jordanian charges and on participating in the Lebanese war.

TULKARM YOUTH SENTENCED

JERUSALEM — A 16-year-old Tulkarm youth, Anwar Bishara, was sentenced by a military court in Nablus to a two-month prison term and 10 more suspended on charges of throwing stones at shops in the city which refused to go on strike on Land Day, March 30. He was also fined IS25,000.

Bishara's brother, Ibrahim, was killed by Israeli army bullets during demonstrations on the first anniversary of Land Day.

April 16, 1984

COFFEE SHOP BOMBED

JENIN — A firebomb was thrown at a coffee shop in Jenin, injuring three people. One, a Nablus resident, is still receiving treatment in hospital. The reason for the attack is not known.

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

RAMALLAH — A Ramallah military court sentenced 23-year-old Mousa Mustafa Falteh to an 18-month prison term on charges of membership in an illegal organisation. Another 20-year-old youth, Mustafa Bakri, was given a one-year term for the same charge.

Two youtiis from Mazra'ah Sharqieh were sentenced to two-and-a-half-year prison terms and 18 months suspended on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

STUDIES SUSPENDED AT RAWDA

NABLUS — Rawda College in Nablus was suspended when students called for a strike in protest of new administrative regulations regarding students who failed some courses. The new regulations say that a student who fails any course will be suspended for one semester and has to repeat the course when he is readmitted.

April 17, 1984

WEST BANK OBSERVES PRISONERS' DAY

Demonstrations were held in several West Bank towns on the occasion of Prisoners' Day. Palestinian flags were raised and Israeli vehicles were stoned. Mothers of prisoners held a sit-in protest at the Red Cross offices in Jerusalem but the sit-in was broken when Israeli soldiers entered the building and used force to arrest several youths.

In Jerusalem the *Nadi Wuwazafin* (Employees Club) held a rally and the Women's Committee For Social Work sponsored an exhibition of Palestinian culture and works of prisoners. In Bethlehem, the Union of Employees at Bethlehem University held a ceremony attended by a large crowd. Lawyer Lea Tsemel spoke at the rally on the conditions of the Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli jails.

CHURCH EVICTS REFUGEES

RAMALLAH — Nine Palestinian refugee families appealed to the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem to withdraw a court suit he filed against them seeking their eviction from their homes in Bir Zeit. The families have built a shelter for themselves on property owned by the church 36 years ago following the 1948 war. They are under the supervision of UNRWA. The families plan to hold a sit-in at UNRWA offices in Ramallah as a protest against the church's act.

12 NAZARETH RESIDENTS TO STAND TRIAL

NAZARETH — Twelve residents of Nazareth were ordered to appear in court May 5 to face charges of illegal demonstrations. Among the charged residents is the acting mayor of the city and other members of the Communist Party. The list of charges claims that the accused carried signs in Nazareth on July 10 with anti-war slogans written on them.

PLO OPENS EMBASSY IN NIGERIA

LAGOS — The PLO was granted embassy status in Nigeria.

Portugal's Foreign Minister said his country is holding talks with the PLO regarding opening a PLO office in Lisbon. The minister reiterated his country's support for the PLO.

WAFA CORRESPONDENT'S HOME ARSONED

WEST BERLIN — A fire that broke out in the home of Said Boudin, the West Berlin correspondent for the Palestine News Agency, *WAFA*, was ruled as arson by the city's police. A police spokesperson said investigation is underway.

Seventeen refugee families held a sit-in at UNRWA Ramallah offices April 18 to protest plans by the Greek Orthodox Church to evict them from their homes in Bir Zeit/AO photo

Participants in the Palm Sunday march from Bethany to Jerusalem descend the Mount of Olives April 15. On leap years, Christians following the Eastern and Western church calendars all celebrate Easter on the same day/Emtiaz Diab photo

COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT IN GAZA

Three of the demolished Gaza family homes of the guerrillas involved in the hijacking of an Israeli bus April 12. Immediately after Israeli troops stormed the bus, soldiers destroyed the houses of Mohammed Subhi Barakeh in Bani Ishaila (above) and of Jamal Mahmoud Qabalan (above right) and Majdi Abu Jame', both in Abasan al-Kabira. A number of relatives of the four commandos were arrested. Their families are now staying with relatives and neighbours/ AO photos

South African-Israeli relations are something of an embarrassment to the Israeli partner. While the African partner goes to great length to draw parallels with and reinforce links to the Zionist state, Israel, wary of the *apartheid*-Zionism parallel increasingly being drawn in the West, tries to play down the relationship. On pages 8&9 **Nura Sus** and **Manar Said** describe the pattern of racial discrimination, repression and resistance in South Africa. Here **Mike Levin** of *Davar* describes ties with the *apartheid* regime.

South Africa and the Israeli Option

Former South African Prime Minister John Vorster is led through Yad Vashem Holocaust Vorster actively supported the Nazis during World War II.

"When the (South African) National Party came to power in 1948, the Jewish community panicked," says a well-known Jewish activist. In the 1930s and 1940s the National Party supported Nazi Germany and many of its members belonged to a political organisation that identified ideologically with Nazism. During World War II many party members were detained because of their opposition to South Africa joining the war on the side of the Allies.

"The National Party never applied its anti-Semitic policy for two main reasons: the Jews were a part of the white minority and the ruling party didn't want to enter a confrontation with the state of Israel. The Nazi past of the National Party did not prevent the government of Israel from making normal relations with South Africa. Furthermore, in 1976 Yitzhak Rabin, prime minister of Israel, hosted his colleague John Vorster. In World War II Vorster was detained in South Africa because of his active support for Nazi Germany.

An Israeli visiting South Africa nowadays cannot avoid feeling the special relationship between the two states. Journalist Bruce Cameron speaks of the positive attitude that Israel is given in the South African press and about the ties between the two states. "There are exchanges of economic delegations. Cooperation between the two states takes place," according to Cameron, "in technology, medicine and information at different levels." According to a well-informed public figure in the Jewish community, "Among the Afrikaners there is a deep sympathy towards Israel; the government of South Africa compares the situation of Israel with its situation."

"We have the same problems," an Afrikaner engineer declares with sympathy. And his wife adds, "Both we and you are God-fearing peoples."

The enthusiastic attitude to Israel changes on the other side of the barricade — among the blacks. Dr D, of Indian descent, says: "The attitude towards Israel among black people with political awareness is not positive, to say the least. There are strong connections between Israel and South Africa. Dr S, an activist of the United Democratic Front, has harsh words: "Blacks in South Africa consider Israel an imperialist force. Begin's rule was defined as fascist. Israel has tight ties with the racist rule in South Africa. The government of Israel," adds Dr S, "also supports the 'homelands.' "

Z, a black African lawyer, considers the special relations between the two states as a factor that "makes Israel hated by the black public." "The black man," Mohammed, an MA student in Durban told me, "hates every state that supports South Africa. The Israeli support for Ciskei (one of the 'homelands') causes an increase in anti-Israeli feelings."

The establishment of a South African force in Angola to eliminate guerrilla acts by the Namibian underground is called "the Israeli option in South Africa." The South African press is also full of information about Israeli-South African relations and Israel's involvement in the 'homelands.' *The Daily Dispatch* of October 31, 1983 reports that an Israeli security expert who was called by President Lenox Saba "a world-famous general," stayed in Ciskei for three days and examined the local security needs.

The Rand Daily Mail of November 18, 1983 writes about a group of 18 Ciskeians who came to Israel for flight training and who will be the nucleus of the Ciskei air force. *The Citizen*, an English-language newspaper that represents government circles, quotes in a news item from November 12, 1983 the Ciskei president: "Israel's attitude to my country is *ad hoc* recognition. The Israeli ambassador in South Africa, Eliayahu Lankin, endeavors to lessen the importance of the relations between Ciskei and Israel. In a short statement published in *The Financial Mail* of December 16, 1983 the ambassador said: "My government's policy is dictated by the UN resolution not to recognise the independent states. The pilots (from Ciskei) are trained at a private school to get civilian pilot licences. Any claim that they are trained by the air force is ridiculous."

On the subject of Ciskei's representation in Israel the ambassador says: "They have no task. There is no law in Israel that prohibits driving with the flag of an independent state on your car."

The newspaper asked the ambassador about the military and economic ties between Israel and South Africa. The ambassador replied: "Other states have stronger ties. The Israeli Embassy, for instance, doesn't have a military attache. Those who think that the South African army needs Israeli military advice underestimate the worth of the South African army. South Africa isn't Angola and we are not Cubans."

About economic ties, the ambassador says, "All the talk about tight economic ties between the two states is baseless." The South African minister of industry, commerce and tourism, D De Willar, has a different opinion on the subject. "A strong basis for a reasonable growth in commercial, industrial and scientific relations has already been established," he wrote in the official yearbook of the South African-Israeli Bureau of Commerce. Israeli Minister of Commerce and Industry Gideon Pat wrote in the same issue: "During the past decade there has been an impressive and consistent growth in commercial relations between Israel and South Africa. Israeli exports to South Africa, US$8.8 million in 1972, increased to US$79.3 million and in 1981 to US$101.2 million. Imports to Israel from South Africa in the parallel period were US$11.6 million in 1972, US$117.1 million in 1980 and in US$104.2 million in 1981."

As an indication of the economic cooperation between the two states are the permanent representatives of Israeli firms in South Africa. Among the outstanding companies are El Al, Zim, Koor, The Dead Sea Plant, the Brom Combinate and Motorola. (Translation: Davar, April 6, 1984.)